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A PORTRAIT OF THE FARM FAMILY IN CENTRAL NEW YORK STATE

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PICTURES of the grandparents or great-grandparents hang today beside needlework samplers and faded hair flowers in heavy frames on the walls of an occasional farmhouse parlor. Heirlooms now, they typify a cultural period that had also its characteristic patterns of social arrangement. The early designs for living are heirlooms, too, but not yet as completely relegated to the walls of memory as are the paintings and the handwork in those parlor frames. Sometimes, indeed, we have nostalgic urges to recall them entirely from the past to play again the old roles of certain status in the present period of greater social confusion. But cultural systems change and if there were to be any permanence of role and status it would be too often a kind of social *rigor mortis*. Specific patterns of family life are therefore neither universal nor permanent. Our pictures of the farm family, as of every other social grouping, must be adjusted at intervals to cultural change in each locale and in each social stratum.

A classic picture of the early farm family in New York State has been worded by James Mickel Williams.¹ The figure in his portrait is an English puritan family reaching New York via New England, gradually reshaped by the conditions of pioneering, but with basic patterns enduring throughout the period of subsistence farming and continuing even into the recent periods of commercial agriculture and contemporary metropolitan dominance. The pioneer American family was large, biologically vital, and of strong social texture. It was "the beginning and the end of rural social organization."² Family groups were geographically isolated, economically self-sufficient and socially self-contained. Parents were often "the school, the church, in extreme cases the state."³ Fathers were austere dominant.

¹ James Williams, *Our Rural Heritage*, N. Y., A. A. Knopf, 1925, pp. 46-80.

² P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1931, vol. II, p. 4.

³ J. F. Brown, *Psychology and the Social Order*, N. Y., McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936, p. 224.

Wives were obedient, faithful, subordinate in person and in law. Strict obedience was required of children. Actually the subjection of wife and children to the father exemplified their common submission to natural processes, never completely understood, always uncertain. The common and paramount interest of family members in the outcome of the farm enterprise necessitated agreement on all matters. Farming and living were synonymous. There was need for an executive in each family who could give direction to the process of living. The natural executive was the father, hence our usual judgment that the farm family was patriarchal. There followed from these conditions a strong family pride and exclusiveness, rigid adherence to custom. Self-restraint, thrift and industry were predominant in attitude and in action. There were strong standards of modesty and morality. There was respect for authority, whether parental, religious or legal.

The matrix of rural custom in which these family-forms were set has been only stiffly flexible, yielding slowly to urban encroachment. The very strength of its original position has not only retarded change but it has added to the discomforts of change. Social confusion is in proportion to the rate of change of the mores. Life is well-ordered and relatively easy when standards and rules are fixed, commonly known and commonly unchallenged. The psychological strains and tensions accompanying rapid social change are most acute where there has been greatest reliance on precept and formula. The potentialities for intragroup conflict, therefore, have recently been great in the farm family. City folk were earlier inured to the presence in one family group of widely variant interests and activities than were farm people. Perhaps this is why Burgess found evidence that adolescent-parent relationships are less well adjusted in the rural than in the city home.⁴ Alterations of farm family life may be occurring today in a maximum-discomfort stage of cultural change.

The family type described by Williams was at one time common in many parts of the northeastern hay and dairy sections. It was the biological and social ancestor of present day farm families in Central New York State. These families are living today on family-size farms which they own or rent and from which they derive their chief income. In the sample studied,⁵ all members are native born. They are in the second and third stages⁶ of family development, with husbands averaging 43.5 years in age, two years older than the wives. The parents were married an aver-

⁴ White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Adolescent in the Family*. Report of the sub-committee on the Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child, E. W. Burgess, chairman. N. Y., D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

⁵ Howard W. Beers, *Measurements of Family Relationships in Farm Families of Central New York*. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Station Memoir 183, 1934, pp. 38.

⁶ Charles P. Loomis, *The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities*, North Carolina Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 298, 1934, page 18.

age of 18 years ago. An average of 3.6 children have been born per family. An average of 2.7 of these children per family are living with their parents at the time of observation. The families have been settled on their present farms an average of 10.8 years. Three-fourths of the wives and four-fifths of the husbands were born on farms. The families are similar, then with respect to race, general culture, and occupation. They differ among themselves with respect to age, stage of family development, economic status and other factors. There are many interfamily variations like the individual differences among persons. The family patterns in this group are only once or twice removed from those of native white families in town, for they all stem from the early patriarchal type. The country cousin, however, remains biologically more vital than its urban kin. Even though farm birth rates have declined, perhaps more rapidly than city birth rates, the farm family still is formed earlier and is larger.⁷ The age of marriage in the United States has been increasing among classes of higher economic status, but it has been declining among farm people, as among other low income classes.⁸

This portrait of contemporary farm families in a particular area will emerge more distinctly if one model sits against the background of descriptive data for all the families studied. Excerpts from a case narrative will help to clarify the outlines of our discussion.⁹

The X family lives eight miles from a village of 2500 people in a rugged south central dairy section of New York State. To reach their home, one drives out through the broad valley and up a winding black-top road through the Gully. Turning right into an uphill lane, one stops between the frame house (straw yellow with white trimmings) and the unpainted barns. A flashlight beam points the way through a dark, rainy night to the back entrance.

This has been their home for 17 years. Mr. X is 43 years old, and his wife is 41. Both were born and reared on nearby farms. He finished common school. She attended the village high school for two years. Neither has had any occupational experience other than farming, and the farm is now their sole source of income.

Four children have been born to the mother, but the first boy died of pneumonia in his second year. The second boy, now eighteen, is a sophomore at college. The next child is a boy of eleven, in seventh grade. The youngest, a daughter of six, is in school for the first time—four born, three living, and two at home.

When married 20 years ago, Mr. and Mrs. X lived for three years with Mr. X's parents, working the homestead on shares. Then they bought their present farm of 96 acres going in debt for the full cost. Their small cash reserve was invested in repairs to buildings.

An average season's work on this farm involves handling 15 acres of hay, 12 of spring grain, five of ensilage corn, seven of buckwheat, three of potatoes, one acre of field beans, two acres of wheat, four of alfalfa, the care of nine milk cows, some young stock and 100 hens. Mr. X is now rated by local leaders as a careful and successful farmer.

⁷ Dwight Sanderson, "The Rural Family," *Jour. Home Economics*, 29, April 1937, 223.

⁸ Dwight Sanderson, *ibid.*, p. 223.

⁹ The case excerpts included with the text of this article are all drawn from the narrative of one family, sufficiently representative to illustrate general statements.

The basic differences between early farm and city families were due both to rural isolation and to occupation. Today we find the kind of work that families do is becoming relatively more important than their place of residence. The social length of a physical mile varies from moment to moment. Farmers in central New York State undoubtedly knew of the Hindenburg Zeppelin disaster before the flames were extinguished. Certainly many of them while at breakfast took vicarious part in the coronation of a British King. Furthermore, as the influence of distance declines and the influence of occupation becomes more marked there comes increasingly into the picture a third differentiating factor, namely, that of economic status. Socio-economic differentiation within the rural community is becoming more pronounced. It is less and less possible to portray sharp contrasts between "the rural" and "the urban" family because of greater social heterogeneity within both rural and urban groups. Hitherto rural people in America have belonged largely to the middle classes. Recently, increasing numbers have moved into social positions of lessened status. As this happens it is important to note that "the climbing of the ladder of gentility" [successfully accomplished by Mr. X] "has suddenly become a much more difficult task than has heretofore been the case."¹⁰

Underlying or accompanying the vital and economic changes of the farm family, there are changes in psychosocial relationships, changes in status and role. One factor basic to the definition of status is the division of labor among family members. Hence, any change in work pattern is significant.

Mr. X is primarily responsible for the outdoor work and the chores. In summer the oldest boy, home from college, helps regularly with work outdoors. He is chief teamster during the summer, operates the mowing machine, binder and other implements. Practically no outside help is hired. The younger boy does some of the mowing, "drives on the horse-fork" during haying, he does some milking, helps with general chores, helps with gardening and is entirely responsible for feeding the poultry. He drove the team and hay-rake last summer. All members but the little girl share responsibility for the home garden. Mrs. X washes the milk utensils. She takes sole responsibility for work in the house. The little girl occasionally helps to wash dishes and to dust. She likes the latter chore in particular. The younger boy carries wood (they burn no coal) for the stoves. Mrs. X says that her husband was not "handy with babies," so she had no help in the care of the younger children. The coming of children altered the division of labor in this home. Mrs. X helped with the milking and with general farm chores until the children arrived.

In the farm family of today, specialization is more marked than it was during an earlier period. Formerly, it was not unusual for girls to help with the outdoor work and for boys to help in household routines. Today, however, the processes of economic production have largely left the house for field and barn. Sanderson has raised an interesting question with respect to this change. "It is undoubtedly true that there is less need for home

¹⁰ Roy H. Holmes, *Rural Sociology*, N. Y., McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1932, p. 73.

production . . . but if the wife and the family are to be relieved of all domestic activities . . . do they secure the satisfaction and is there a possibility of developing the affection that would result from a sharing of common activities which make possible an interchange of personal service, of what the Binkleys call 'domestic interaction'?"¹¹

Child labor is traditional on farms and it has been reduced in quantity more by compulsory school attendance than by any shifts in rural attitude. This is well evidenced by nation-wide rural negation of the proposed constitutional amendment regulating the labor of children. In an earlier time, custom allowed rural fathers the privilege of getting all the work they could from their sons while the latter were legal minors. Social maturity was recognized at 21, but not before. This father-son work relationship is still almost unique to the farm family. It constitutes a type of vocational training inherent in family farming. A father-son relationship that is markedly different in at least one phase from the pioneer pattern, however, is found in the X family.

When the older boy started college he had saved \$120 in cash. Most of this had accumulated as follows: The boy once had wanted a calf. The father gave him a calf on condition that he raise it carefully and be responsible for its care. When the calf became a cow the father was to get the milk for the expense of feeding. The cow's first calf was vealed and the boy got the money on condition that he put it in the bank. So every calf to which this cow gave birth was vealed and the boy kept the money. In the end the cow was sold. The same plan is being followed with the eleven year old who now has a calf that he is feeding.

Although there is greater division of labor in today's farm home, many activities are still shared, and propinquity still fosters family solidarity. Farm families vary in these customs, but the X family is representative for central New York.

The family members are all home together an average of six evenings per week. When asked what the family usually does in the evening to pass time pleasantly, Mrs. X said, "Well, when the boys are home they like to have Mr. X play checkers with them or something like that. I read a great deal. Mr. X reads as much as he can with his poor eyes. Then we have music, too. Lots of times we get around the organ and sing." The family always gathers at meal time with the exception of luncheon on school days when the children are not at home. But when the family is at home, each waits for the others to assemble before starting to eat. Reading aloud is customary, as it was in both of the parental homes. The Bible is read aloud once each day. As a rule, shopping in town is a family activity. There is family observance of the usual holidays. On Christmas the family goes to the home of Mrs. X. On Thanksgiving they go to the home of Mr. X. On New Year's Day they observe a holiday at home. On Decoration Day they go to the cemetery to decorate the graves of their first-born and their dead kin. Birthdays are always celebrated with at least a cake.

¹¹ Dwight Sanderson, "Trends in Family Life Today," *Jour. Home Economics*, 24, April 1932, 318.

Religion and ritual are less intimately a part of the family pattern today than they were yesterday. In this respect, the X family is closer to pioneer customs than to modern city folkways.

In the extra parlor, a well-thumbed Bible and an accumulation of Sunday School papers cover the surface of a small table. On the wall above hangs the framed marriage certificate. On the opposite wall hangs a placard with the message, "His Mercy Endureth Forever." At one end of the room is an old melodeon on which a well-worn hymn book is open at *Rock of Ages*. There is no other music visible.

Daily Bible readings and strong social dependence upon church activity appear in the case of the X family. Neither they nor their neighbors follow the old custom of "saying grace" at meals. Yet every one of the marriages among these farm families was performed by a minister of religion rather than by a civil officer. Wives in particular declared that they "would not feel married unless a minister had performed the ceremony." The marriage mores of rural life are still intimate with institutional religion, but family activities are affected less directly by religion than they were in an earlier period.

The shared activities, propinquity and group rituals in these families are not ordinarily accompanied by overt demonstrations of affection. Here, as elsewhere, traditions of restraint and habits of emotional control are vestiges of the pioneer attitude. It is likely, however, that practices with respect to shared activity, demonstration of affection or family ritual vary more from family to family now than they would have varied three generations ago in the same area.

Along with propinquity and the patterns of work and leisure, division of executive authority in the home is equally basic to family structure. As Sims has written, "Although the rural family inclines to the patriarchal type, it often manifests noteworthy democratic traits."¹² It might now be argued that the farm family inclines more and more to the democratic type of organization. The old conditions of risk and uncertainty in agriculture have not been entirely supplanted but there is now less mystery about the processes of production. Uncertainties of biology and weather, although replaced by uncertainties of the market, are no longer so insistent that each family group have a patriarchal head.

The present importance of markets, and the consequent emphasis upon intense, specialized production is introducing certain new influences on role and status within the family, giving some impetus to the democratic trend.

On a check list, which Mr. and Mrs. X completed independently, each gives the other credit for helping earn the family income. Each of them reports it to be earned by "father and mother together." Mrs. X is responsible for buying food. Purchasing children's clothing is a shared responsibility. Borrowing money is a matter that

¹² N. L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1934, p. 434.

rests largely with Mr. X, although both parents discuss any problem of this sort before action is taken. If a problem directly concerns the children, they are called into council. Buying machinery is a matter for Mr. X's decision. He decides what crops to plant, when and where to plant them. If there is any remodeling to be done in the house, a joint decision is made. Contributing to the church is a matter for consensus. Mr. and Mrs. X select together the papers to which they will subscribe. Writing checks is done only by the husband. He buys the insurance, although whether or not it shall be taken is first agreed upon. Training the children is shared; seeing that children study lessons is also shared. Giving the children permission to leave the home or to go away is joint; punishing children is done by both. Both parents give the children spending money. Both of them help in planning the children's education, although Mrs. X said, "Now some of these things, like choosing the children's vocation, neither one of us ever thought that was our place."

There is little evidence here of uncompromising paternal dominance. The husbands in these families rarely take upon themselves the sole responsibility for making decisions, even when problems of business are up for solution. A discussion involving at least the husband and wife precedes the reaching of a decision in seven homes out of eight. In nearly half of the homes, children also are consulted. However, the importance of family discussion varies according to the kind of problem awaiting solution. Questions relating primarily to the farm business are more likely than others to be decided by the husband without consulting the wife. Decisions about the purchase of machinery or what crops to plant are of this type. On the other hand, if the question is whether or not to borrow money, to buy insurance, or to buy a car, there is likely to be a family discussion before any final action is taken. These questions relate directly to family welfare rather than solely to the farm business. If money is borrowed, thrift is forced upon the members of the family. If insurance is purchased, other things will have to be foregone. A new car will be either liked or disliked by each family member, hence each one has an interest in the decision.

The tendency for husbands to be solely responsible for financial decisions is more marked in families on large than on small farm enterprises. There is a suggestion in the evidence that as standards of competitive business efficiency enter farming, the splitting of executive responsibility into home and farm divisions may become more pronounced. The prophets of chemurgy as well as the discoveries of conservative research point to extreme and imminent changes in the practices and skills of agricultural production. The rate and final extent to which country life may be deruralized, of course, cannot even be conjectured, but even now milk-dresses and bathtub-tomatoes are more than pure fantasy.

There are also some new problems of financial administration in the home. In the days of family self-sufficiency, production and consumption were one dual process, begun and finished on one farm unit. Cash was unimportant. Now, however, the medium of exchange has a new significance to each family member. How do families meet the problem of an equitable

or satisfactory distribution of cash among the separate members? There is little evidence of any one answer sufficiently extant to be called a folkway, but it is likely that low income or disagreement over distribution of income is a new source of tension in the farm family.

Some phases of the parent-child relationship have been mentioned above. In the X family, we found each child attending school, the oldest boy in college. This illustrates an attitude frequently voiced by mothers who want to educate their children into white-collar strata. We found each child with a definite place in the work pattern, a place of responsibility increasing with age, and allocated to house or field and barn on the basis of sex. We found parents and children playing as well as working together. We found children included occasionally in family councils, we found the boys with property and money of their own, we found ritualistic observance of the children's birthdays. (The manner of giving money to children in the X family is not general in the area studied. Irregular amounts of spending money are more customary in other families.) We found both parents sharing some responsibilities for guidance and control, yet allowing children relative freedom in such matters as choice of vocation. However, we still find that unfailing obedience is expected.

"Mr. X, how do you get the children to do what you ask them to do?"

"Why, we just tell them." Mrs. X added, "we never believed in bribing them or paying them to do things." Mr. X continued, "we always cal'cate that if they are told to do anything they are s'posed to do it."

"What methods of punishment do you use?"

"Oh, the whip and the strap. Often we deny them something they want. But we always make it clear to them just why we are doing it."

The changed status of wife and mother is at once cause and effect of changing family relationships. It has been only recently that a writer of syndicated newspaper features could, with impunity, advise a farm wife to "calmly announce to your husband that unless you can have a maid on your farm next year you will refuse to do any canning, gardening or chicken raising. Plan to cut down your work at least 40 per cent."¹³

But women have been enfranchised. The law now recognizes their property rights. Educational levels have been raised. They participate freely in the organizational life of communities. Their roles with respect to household and farm work have changed. Some of these things have tended to give them a social status both within and out of the home that is more than ever like that of their husbands. The relationship of the mother's position to patterns within the family has been recognized in the foregoing discussion. It is related also to the role of the family in the community, a role that has changed since the days of pioneering. Mrs. X does not operate the family car but 43 percent of the farm wives in neighboring homes are licensed drivers.

¹³ Garry C. Meyers, *The Parent Problem*. (Syndicated newspaper column, Dec. 11, 1936.)

The organized participation of the family centers largely in the church. All members of the family attend church and Sunday School regularly. They have not joined the Grange. Mr. X belongs to the Farm Bureau and Dairymen's League. Mrs. X is a faithful attendant at meetings of the Missionary Society. They have not been to a moving picture since they were married. Mr. X goes to the village or a nearby city about twice a week and Mrs. X not more than once a month. Entertainments take them out not more than once a month. Mrs. X visits with neighbors on the telephone from one to three times a day. Mr. X confesses, however, that he probably does just as much visiting if not more than his wife. He meets neighbors on the road and stops to chat with them or he exchanges work with his neighbors and gossips while he works. Once a year they have friends from the city who come to spend a week or a few days with them. Mr. X has been on the church board; he has been a church steward and has been on the church building committee. Mrs. X teaches Sunday School and is vice-president of the Missionary Society. Mr. X is now collector and school trustee of the school district.

The proportion of husbands who did not participate in any organization (15 percent) is greater than for wives (12 percent). Similarly husbands attended an average of only 2.6 organizations while the wives attended an average of 3.2 organizations. This is a reversal of pioneer customs. Commercial recreation is infrequent. The husbands and wives attend moving pictures only about once in two months. Town contacts were twice as frequent for husbands as for wives because of business trips.

The local leadership of their communities comes from these families. Three-fourths of the men and over half of the women had a record of some past or present office in an organization. This changed community role of the farm wife, however, has not yet removed her from the family group enough to threaten the integration of the home, for wives with leadership records were found in those homes in which there are many shared activities. Furthermore, this activity in organizations often helps mothers to cope with current change. "Parent-teacher associations, child study clubs, and similar organizations render an important service in establishing norms of child behavior and strengthening the morale of the associated members in their efforts to maintain them."¹⁴

Although the strength of the great family as a rural social control has weakened materially we find the kinship group still important. One-fourth of the households studied included some relative whose only home was with the family group.

The X's "go visiting" about once a month and receive visits from others with the same frequency, usually entertaining these guests at dinner. Most of this visiting is with nearby members of the great family. Nearly half of the families typified by Mr. and Mrs. X and their children attend an annual reunion of the paternal great family and the same proportion attend a similar gathering of the mother's great family. When we analyze their habits with respect to visiting we find that one-fourth of these

¹⁴ Dwight Sanderson, *op. cit.*, *Jour. Home Economics*, 24, April 1932, 317.

families visit from one to four kin families of the husband and a similar number of kin families of the wife. Only one family in eight reports visiting no homes in which there are relatives of the husband, and one family in three reports visiting in no homes containing relatives of the wife.

In many respects, then, the portrait of today's farm family in Central New York could well hang on the same wall with needlework samplers and framed hair flowers. In other respects, it would not be out of place in a modern mural. It is a modification of old patterns, a partial acceptance of new patterns. It is smaller than the pioneer family, yet it is still among our chief sources of population increase. The rural social organization of the area is no longer familistic, but it is at least "semi-familistic."¹⁸ The roles of parent and child are less fixed in the mores. There is a definite heritage of paternal dominance, but the outlines of the heritage become progressively more dim. Obedience and subjection of children stand forth still as parental goals but with less and less filial recognition. Specialization and education have affected the division of labor, but shared work and shared leisure are still formative of the family pattern. Propinquity continues to foster solidarity, resisting the centrifugal effects of urbanization. There has been definite democratization in the changes of role and status. That is evidenced particularly in the joint executive function of mother and father. The rate at which this change occurs accelerates with the advance of business efficiency and industrialization in agriculture. Both rate and direction of future change in the farm family pattern are, therefore, quite as likely to depend upon larger economic and social influences affecting agriculture as upon the dictation of tradition.

It is significant that the family pattern of these farm folk is so widely valued today. As an accepted design for living, it is a stated or implied goal of those current governmental efforts at agricultural adjustment which propose to make the family farm more general and more secure.

¹⁸ Dwight Sanderson, *op. cit.*, *Jour. Home Economics*, 29, April 1937, 223.

THE MORMON FAMILY

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WHEN the Mormons fled into the desert to escape their persecutors, they took with them the culture of backwoods New England. The Mormon commonwealth, a self-sufficient Zion, was a Rocky Mountain version of the Adirondack and Green Mountain frontier. Utah pioneers were industrious, home-loving, Bible-reading people, as were their New England ancestors in 1820 when Joseph Smith, Jr., was receiving his Latter-day Gospel from the angels. They were like New Englanders in many ways; also they were different.

The Mormon family was probably no more or less religious than the New England family, but it was identified with a more distinctive and controversial religion. The New England family was dedicated to the production of children, but the Mormon family made child rearing a major industry. The Mormon family, more than other pioneer families, made a fetish of education. Perhaps the most distinguishing ideal of the Mormon family was to serve as a Church-service unit, an ideal still held but with diminished zeal.

So far as the Mormon family differs from other families, its variation may be due to a number of selective and experience factors. The selective factors began with conversion to an unpopular religion. For many of the early converts, the acceptance of Mormonism meant to be cast out by family and community. The ordeal of getting to Utah was another selective agency, which is unmatched in American history. No less than fifty thousand converts walked distances of from eight hundred to a thousand miles over the plains and mountains to the Salt Lake Valley. Besides walking on short rations and without shelter against storms, men, women and children carried burdens on their backs or pulled handcarts.

As persecution figured in the selection of the Mormon converts, it also figured as an experience factor after they joined the Church. Who can say what was the impress on Mormon family ways of three generations of persecution, social isolation and living in the desert? What also were the effects of being for years called the worst people on earth, when they were convinced they were the Lord's Chosen? Polygamy was another experience which led to persecution and was influenced by it. Without polygamy the factor of social isolation might not have been so prominent.

It should be kept in mind that the typical Mormon family is not, and never was, the polygamous family. Once a romantic ideal and a tense religious issue, the polygamous family is passing into history. The monogamous family of Mormondom is also changing in character. Although different in type, the single and plural families were not different in the work

of the day, and their fortunes were very much intertwined. They were more nearly identical in 1890 when polygamy was ruled out, than either would be identifiable with the typical Mormon family of today.

Polygamy began about 1840 as a secret arrangement among certain Mormon leaders, but it was not until after their secure establishment in Utah that polygamy was publicly proclaimed. Whatever motives or interests may have figured in getting polygamy started, they were probably less statesmanlike than the purposes announced by Brigham Young when he made the doctrine public about 1852. The announcement came as a shock to the rank and file membership. They were unaware of the "celestial principle" when they were driven from Ohio to Missouri, from Missouri to Illinois, from Illinois to Iowa and thence over the plains. After all those experiences, suffering exposure, loss of property, beatings and even death, the people were in a frame of mind to accept any program for their own security. Polygamy was a plan to prosper Zion.

Information is not available about the types of persons included among the converts. How many came from the states we do not know, or how many from abroad. I have been permitted to review the United States Census sheets for three southern Utah counties for 1870. The following table is suggestive; practically all were Mormons, except a few older men.

WHITE POPULATION IN IRON, KANE AND WASHINGTON COUNTIES, UTAH TERRITORY,
U. S. CENSUS, 1870.

Age Groups	Male	Female
Under 20 years.....	2,134	2,104
20 to 44 years.....	854	956
45 years and over.....	471	353
Total.....	3,459	3,413

A fairly large part of those under twenty years were born in Utah. Scarcely any of the two older groups were born in Utah. All of those over forty-five years of age were converts. In this group, the men outnumbered the women. In the middle group, were the child-bearing women with a surplus of a hundred. In the upper age groups were a hundred or more extra men, but mostly they were older men. When the foreign-born are listed separately, we find, for the group from 20 to 44 years, 347 men and 436 women; and of the older group, 214 men and 188 women. This suggests that women in the child-bearing years were attracted to Mormonism. Here was the problem and polygamy was the answer.

As Governor of Utah and President of the Church, Brigham Young spoke with authority when he told the Mormons they would have to wax strong or be overwhelmed by their enemies. "Next time," he said, "they will drive us into the sea." The answer was easy to understand. First, it involved the missionary system for bringing in all the converts possible.

Second, it called for a rapid increase of the birthrate. Every woman was expected to do her duty. In view of the surplus of women, polygamy made it possible for all of them to bear offspring.

Contrary to all warnings, women were not afraid of Mormonism and much less of polygamy. Far from being afraid of plural marriage, they defended it. Women as well as men went to prison for the principle. The opposition on the plural family issue, and the persecution heaped on Mormons outside of Utah until about 1874, were transferred to the mountain settlements after that date, getting more fierce each year until Utah statehood in 1896, and Arizona statehood some years later.

The chief reason for persecuting the Mormons before polygamy was their claim of direct revelation from God. By a few they were hated because of their anti-slavery beliefs. Others did not like their claims of being a "chosen people," ready to take over the world and suppress other religions. Although polygamy put the issue on the front pages and made it a respectable thing to bait the Mormons, the old hatreds also continued. It became a public duty to bring the much married to justice. Three anti-polygamy laws were passed by Congress, the final of which was the Edmunds-Tucker act of 1887. Step by step through these laws and decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the polygamists and other Mormons were stripped of their civil rights. Finally, in 1887, the Government resorted to the device of confiscating or taking over all Church property in excess of \$50,000.

The struggle over polygamy carried on in Utah the persecution known by the Mormons before their westward trek, but it was a different kind of persecution. The Mormons were not so much at a disadvantage. The protection of distance was increased by the protection of their desert isolation. Notwithstanding their safety, however, life in the Mormon community or family for half a century was never free from tension. Polygamy was the issue. Around that issue gathered all the hatreds of the Gentiles for Mormons and of Mormons for Gentiles. The number of plural families was never so great as assumed. It varied with communities from one family in ten to one in fifteen.

Church sanctions made polygamy the test of social excellence. No man could hold Church office, if he was not plurally married. In the Church dances they devised a grand march for a man dancing with two ladies. In the parties, the polygamists had social preferences. Their wives were usually the social leaders. If polygamists went to prison, their neighbors came to cheer them. When they returned from prison, all the town folks went out to meet them. If the deputy marshals came to town, the children ran in all directions to warn polygamists and their wives.

Could a state of being at war for three generations with the rest of the country, which they called Babylon, have had any influence on the Mor-

mon family? What was the influence of their contact with hostile Gentiles at home? Practically all the non-Mormons in Utah were in league against them. Consider the Gentile types: soldiers in the army; judges, attorneys and marshals appointed by Washington; professional jurors, bribe takers, claim jumpers, fixers at court, professional and volunteer spies. Except a few preachers who came to save their souls and an occasional business man in the cities or the miners, most of the Gentiles in Utah lived by catching, protecting or convicting polygamists.

Territorial Utah had two governments: one, Federal, operated by outsiders appointed by the President, and the other local and controlled by the Mormon priesthood. The Federal government was the militant outpost of all that Mormons hated. The local government scarcely figured at all, except as an agent of the Church, and a buffer for the Church. The ecclesiastical organization had control of all matters concerning property, domestic relations and community problems. In the all-Mormon settlement civil authority scarcely existed.

Gentiles were boycotted in business and excluded from all social associations. Mormon children were taught to avoid strangers, to answer no questions, and to know nothing, if asked about their families or neighbors. An atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion prevailed between Mormons and Gentiles in Utah. The same was true out in the world where Gentile preachers warned the people to beware of the elders dressed in black suits and plug hats going about the country two by two to snare converts. "Receive them not into your homes, neither bid them godspeed."

Mormons in Utah heard the same solemn warnings respecting Gentile strangers, "Receive them not. Be wise as serpents but gentle as doves. Let them make honey in their own hives. They want to lead our children from us. They take our words and bandy them about." Year by year the Mormon family lived under this discipline of caution, quiet dignity and reserved silence. In remote places those qualities are still in evidence.

Without a profound religious family feeling, polygamy would have failed. Parents were dedicated by the Church to pious purposes and to children. The pious purposes were the hundred and one religious duties taking all their spare time and spare money. Polygamy itself was a type of sacrifice. When certain good Saints accumulated goods in excess of their neighbors they were instructed to take other wives, thus to share their wealth. Most of the surplus wealth was dispersed through tithes and offerings. Everyone contributed to the temple funds, defence funds, missionary funds and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund for bringing poor converts to Zion.

A youth in the pioneer Mormon family very soon learned that his life work was pretty much a matter of following his file leaders and living by certain formulae. In his personal habits he was expected to refrain from

intoxicants, tobacco and excesses. He would be rated good or bad, according as he contributed when called on and as he respected the leaders. In his late teens or early twenties he was expected to be prepared, if called on, to go out in the world to preach the Gospel. He paid all his own expenses on a mission, or depended on his family. Such a mission usually lasted two years, filled with experience: preaching in the streets, encounters with hostile preachers, traveling without money, and even running from the mobs. A young man expected hard experience on a mission, but he charged it to his education, as indeed it was an education which no school could match.

The girl in a Mormon family, exposed to the same influences, acquired the same stolid convictions. Long before her teens she would pair off with some boy of the neighborhood, going with him to all parties and dances or to Church. It was a normal thing for children to pair off at an early age, but with all the free relations between the young folks there was very rarely any sex irregularity. The one interest of the girl from babyhood on was, and still is, children. It is ever the subject when Mormon girls and women get together. The family pattern outlined by the Church was more seriously respected by the girls than by the boys. Should a boy be a little hesitant about going on a mission, or should he be wayward in habits, usually it was his girl who brought him to his senses.

Childhood in the Mormon family was a serious preparation for adulthood, and the life of adults was a pious service for the Church. Old age was a sober preparation for the next life. I note that I have been mixing the past and present tenses in this description. I have in mind mainly the Mormon family as it was and is in the hinterland, not the sophisticated urban version straining to shake itself free from its background.

Recreation in pioneer times was largely a family responsibility. With children in every home and a fairly uniform way of rearing children, there was much freedom in visiting from home to home. I knew a number of such homes when I came to southern Utah in 1907. Little children went to one home or another to eat; to Uncle Tom's or Aunt Minnie's, and there was no worry. They went to one home or another to sleep. Youths spent much of their leisure in the homes of their sweethearts. Being a parent was a community function, having a sense of responsibility for all children in the locality. For example, when on holidays the "big folks" had their evening dance, it was always preceded by a "children's dance" in the afternoon, with the parents as hosts.

Next to missionary service to bring the chosen to Zion, education has always been the most profound interest of the Mormon family. They recite in relation to this major interest certain slogans: "The glory of God is intelligence"; "Man is saved no faster than he gains knowledge"; "As God now is, man may become." Education is the secret of eternal progression

from the previous estate through this life and into the next. The foundation of their concept of education has been the missionary system. In all the first principles of learning the family is the teacher.

These first principles are very elemental ones. They concern the simple relationships within the family, the relationships between neighbors, and the relationships to the Church. They are stated in the simple creed of one pioneer who told his children and theirs to live poor and work hard, obey their leaders, and let God do the rest. Polygamy had much to do with this formula for family life, because it was polygamy that kept persecution alive and drove them into the remote places from Idaho to Mexico. This persecution for years turned their attention inward to self-sufficiency in family and community.

One phase of this self-sufficiency was the economic isolation that Brigham Young tried so hard to establish. It was his hope so to organize local industry and agriculture that the Mormons would not have to buy anything from the outside. If a perfect non-intercourse could be maintained, he hoped to retain thereby perfect social isolation. To this end the Mormons developed many kinds of co-operative industries, co-operative herds and flocks and, at one time, co-operative farming with community dining halls in some settlements. At the height of this isolation dream, the Church fostered and taught to the children the curious Hebrew-like "Deseret Alphabet," rather than the regular alphabet. It was believed this would further their ethnocentric purposes, made the more attractive because of persecution. Face to face with themselves, they believed Brother Brigham's claim, "We are the best people in the world."

Rearing children by the rules of the Church was a full-time job for any mother, and a good mother was expected to give all of her time to just that, having children and rearing them. The Church would forgive a bad job of rearing sooner than the failure of a mother to have all the children possible. The plight of a childless married woman was sadder than that of a spinster. So strong was the recognition of that duty that few women dared or desired to evade it.

I checked the birth records for a southern Utah city over a period of 27 years beginning in 1905, during which period I was able to get information on 119 completed families. The average number of children per family was 8.5 for the 119 mothers. I was able to secure the same information on about 150 mothers of one family. These included the granddaughters, the daughters and the four wives of a polygamist. They averaged 8 children each.

Old age in the Mormon family is a unique and distinctive condition. This observation again relates the big family ideal with the religious purposes of the Church. When the Mormon patriarchal father gets old, he and his wife usually divide their time between working in the temple and

visiting their children. The latter occupation becomes considerable of a burden, especially if there are many children and grandchildren, all with families. They scarcely have time to rest. A few years ago I talked with an old lady in southern Utah. She was getting quite feeble. She was worried because she had not been well enough to keep up with her visiting. Some of her grandchildren living in another county were angry because she had not visited them in two years. They would write to her but would not send pictures of their babies. She said, "I am behind a year in my knitting and I have so much temple work to do yet."

Temple work is very important in the Mormon family scheme. In the temples the living members of a family are united with the dead. Certain ordinances have to be performed so a man's wife or wives will be his in the next life, and so their children will be sealed to them. Marriage is a tie that outlasts this life. The family continues and grows in the next existence. Members of the family for generations past may be baptized in the temple by proxy. All the sealings and ordinations are done for the dead by the living. Old folks become so interested in temple work that they lose interest in all else. They become impatient with interruptions. The big interest is to get their family trees in shape before passing to the next life. Through temple work the living and the dead become a single family, so much so that the dead are often discussed as if they were present.

With this bond between the living and the dead, every family in the next life becomes a tribe. Every man or woman is great in direct proportion to his or her offspring. That makes the heavenly prospect sweet, but the earthly prospects increasingly difficult.

Brigham Young brought 50,000 or 60,000 converts to the valleys of the mountains. He believed the Lord would open the way for a limitless population there, but the available land was all taken up after four decades of settlement. Yet the birth rate did not decline. In 1880 the Mormons could show a thousand children under five years for each thousand women of childbearing years. Slowly the rate of birth has declined, but the Mormons still have a birth rate of 30.6 per thousand.

When the land supply was exhausted, the surplus of young Mormons went into the mines and industries or on the railroads, but the opportunities offered by industry in that region were too limited. They moved away to the cities. Those who have moved away may have grown a little cold in the faith, but in the main they keep their church ties. Branches of the Church outside the Mormon homeland are more occupied with social matters than with the old-time militant evangelism.

During the past thirty years the Mormons have made great sacrifices to educate their surplus children for whom there is no land available. This is proving to be an expensive solution to their problem because most of the younger generation on whom they spend so much are soonest to mi-

grate. They go to the big cities as white collar or professional workers. Upwards of 50,000 persons have left Utah alone, which reverses the situation that maintained in the days of Brigham Young when more than 50,000 converts were brought out to join the Mormon empire-building program.

The most critical problem facing the Mormon family, growing out of its high birth rate and overcrowded habitat, is found in the present-day exodus of the youth. It cost Brigham Young about \$200 to \$300 to bring a convert to Salt Lake City. He brought in adults. The cost of their upbringing and training had been paid for elsewhere. Today the Mormons export adults after they have been brought up and educated. It costs a Mormon family no less than \$10,000 to rear and train a boy for export. In this process they are depleting their land, overgrazing their range and sinking hopelessly into debt.

Of the present status of the Mormon family this much can be said. It is changing least in the removed villages. It is changing faster in the cities of the Mormon region, but in remote cities it is changing still faster. If there is a drifting away from the old orthodoxy, it is more evident in the decline of spiritual interest. This is less due to outside pressure than to the urge of this generation of Mormons to be one with the world. They are doing well at it, so much so that a Mormon can admit his religion today without facing scorn. As they become more like the world, they also lose to that extent their pioneer distinctiveness.

THE IMPACT OF URBAN CIVILIZATION UPON NEGRO FAMILY LIFE*

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Introduction. The urbanization of the Negro population during the present century has effected the most momentous change in the life of the Negro since his emancipation. During the first three decades of the century, nearly two and a half million Negroes moved from the rural South into the urban areas of the North and the South.¹ Public attention has been directed to the northward movements because they were dramatized by the mass migrations to northern industrial centers during the World War; whereas, the million or more Negroes who drifted into southern cities attracted little or no attention.² However, the shift from country to city in both the North and the South has been accompanied by profound changes in the Negro's behavior and general outlook on life. Because of the fundamental role of the family in social organization, the study of the Negro family offers the most fruitful approach to an understanding of these important changes in the social and cultural life of the Negro.

I. Although the great majority of Negroes who have migrated to urban areas have been simple peasant folk, the economic and cultural differences among the migrants as a whole have determined largely the kinds of accommodation which they have made to their new environment. Therefore, on the basis of a large body of documentary material we shall undertake first to describe four fairly distinct types of traditional patterns of family life found among the Negroes who make up communities in American cities.³ There is first the maternal family pattern which is found in its purest and most primitive form in the rural South. By a maternal pattern of family organization we mean a family that is based primarily upon the affectional ties and common interests existing between the offspring and the mother who is the head of the family. As one would expect, many of these families owe their origin to illegitimacy, often involving several men. In such cases the man's or father's function generally ceases after impregnation; and if he continues to show interest in the woman and the offspring his contacts are casual and his contributions to the household are of the nature of gifts. But he has no authority in the family and the

* This article is an adaptation of a paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society at Chicago, Illinois, December 1936.

¹ Frank A. Ross, "Urbanization of the Negro," *Pub. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, 26, 118.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21. For literature on the movement of the Negro to northern cities one should consult Louise V. Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward*, New York, 1930. This study lists books, articles, and editorials by 159 authors and organizations.

³ A detailed discussion of these four types may be found in the author's "Traditions and Patterns of Negro Family Life in the United States," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, edited by E. B. Reuter, New York, 1934, pp. 191-207.

children may not even be aware of his relationship to them. This type of family pattern has existed since the days of slavery when the mother was the dominant and most stable element in the Negro family. Even after emancipation, which resulted in a general loosening of social bonds, the Negro mother continued in her accustomed role unless perchance the father acquired some interest in his family. [The high rate of illegitimacy among southern Negroes represents family mores and folkways that have their roots in a natural maternal family organization that flourished during slavery.]

Cont. { The second type of family pattern shows many of the characteristics of the traditional family pattern of the American whites. In fact, the histories of the families of this type provide the source materials for studying the genesis of the traditional family type. It is possible to trace in the histories of some Negro families the actual process whereby the father's interest in the family became consolidated with the common interests of the various members of the family group of which he was the recognized head. In some cases traditions in these families go back to the time when the family was still in slavery. Where conditions were favorable to stable family life, the father's interest in his family was often bound up with his status among the slaves, as well as his trusted position in relation to the whites. The moralization of his behavior was further facilitated by incorporation into the household and church of his master or the Negro's own church. Under such circumstances the transition from serfdom to freedom did not result in a breakdown of family relations. In fact, when the father began working as a free man his authority was undisputed in his family. It has been upon such families that the development of the race as a whole in respect to character and culture has depended.

Cont. { The third type of family pattern is sharply differentiated in regard to social heritage from the great mass of the Negro population. These families originated in the communities of free Negroes, usually of white and Negro and sometimes Indian ancestry, that existed in various parts of the country during pre-Civil War times. Many of these families not only achieved stability but also assumed an institutional character. The founders of these families inherited in some cases wealth from their white ancestors and generally showed the advantages of educational opportunities and white contacts. The families were as a rule patriarchal in organization with the female members playing roles similar to those of the slave-holding class in the ante-bellum South. Pride in white ancestry exercised considerable influence on their conception of themselves and their role in relation to the Negroes of unmixed blood and of slave origin. Many of the old established families in the North sprang from this group, families which were often forced to migrate before as well as after the Civil War in order to maintain their self-respect and secure advantages for their children.

We come finally to the fourth class of families who have been relatively isolated from the main currents of Negro life. These families originated in isolated communities of persons of Negro, white and Indian ancestry, and branches and remnants of these families may still be found in these communities, which are located in Alabama, North Carolina, Ohio, New Jersey, and New York. They are not a homogeneous group but are classified together because they show certain common characteristics. Usually they regard themselves as a distinct race from the Negroes and show in their behavior the clannishness of an isolated group. Their family organization is sternly patriarchal and is usually closely tied up with the religious organization of the community. Negro families that have their roots in such communities generally show in their behavior the influence of their peculiar cultural heritage.

II. Before considering the significance of these various patterns of family life in the accommodations which the Negro family has made to the urban environment, let us turn our attention to the sex behavior and familial life of the thousands of solitary men and women who have found their way into the towns and cities of the North and South. It is necessary to distinguish this group from the great body of black migrants, because their attitudes towards sex and family life have resulted from their mobility and emancipation from the most elementary forms of social control. Such a group of men and women have formed a part of the Negro population since the confusion and disorder following the Civil War. Although after emancipation the great mass of the Negro population settled down under a modified form of the plantation system, a fairly large number of Negro men and to a less extent Negro women continued to wander about in search of work and new experience. The size and character of this migratory element has been continually affected by the condition of southern agriculture and industry. On the other hand, when mass migrations were set in motion by demands of northern industries during and following the World War, many unattached men and women were among the migrants.

When the present economic crisis disrupted the economic life of the rural South, as well as that of industrial areas, the number of these unattached migrants was greatly augmented. A study by the Works Progress Administration showed that for the country as a whole, unattached Negro transients constituted 7 to 12 percent of the total during the nine-month period, August 1934 through April 1935.⁴ In Chicago, during the first six months of 1934, 1,712 of the 10,962 unattached persons registered with the Cook County Bureau for Transients were Negro men and women. In the Harlem area of New York City, during the period from December 1931 to January 1936, there were 7,560 unattached Negro men registered

⁴ *The Transient Unemployed*. Research Monograph III, Washington, 1935, p. 33.

with the Emergency Relief Bureau.⁵ However, these figures include only those unattached Negro men and women who have sought relief; they leave out of account the thousands of roving men and homeless women who support themselves by both lawful and unlawful means.

Although we can not describe in detail the various types of sexual unions which these migratory men and women form in the course of their wanderings from city to city, we may safely draw some conclusions concerning the general character of their sex behavior and mating. In a sense, one may say that the "Blues," those distinctive creations of the black troubadours in our industrial civilization, epitomize the sex and family behavior of this class. In these songs the homeless, wandering, intermittent black workers sing of their disappointments and disillusionment in the city. An oft-repeated cause of this disillusionment is the uncertainty and instability of romantic love, if one might apply the term to the emotions of these migratory men and women. Yet, in a very real sense, one might say that in these songs one can discover the origin of romantic sentiments among the great masses of the Negro population. These songs record the spontaneous responses of strange men and women to each other in an unfamiliar environment. More important still, they reveal an awakening imagination that furnishes a sharp contrast to the unromantic matings of Negroes in the isolated peasant communities of the rural South.

It is not our purpose to give the impression that the "Blues" furnish historical data on the sex and familial behavior of this migratory group. Through life history documents we have been able to distill from these songs their true significance. We find that in many cases these men begin their migratory careers by going first to nearby sawmills or turpentine camps, in order to supplement the landlord's allowances to their families. In fact, if one goes to one of the "quarters" near a sawmill in the South, one may find these foot-loose men and women living out the stories of their loves and disappointments which have become fixed in the "Blues." On the whole, their sexual unions and matings are characterized by impulsive behavior. However, just as their natural impulses urge them to all forms of anti-social behavior, spontaneous sympathy and tender emotions create the temporary unions which these men and women often form. In this connection one should not overlook the fact that a recurring theme of these songs is the longing for the intimate association of kinfolk, or wife and children, who have been left behind. Although the temporary unions which these men and women form are often characterized by fighting and quarreling, they supply a need which these wanderers feel for warm and intimate human association.

If the sawmill closes or the man feels the "itch" to travel, or some "Black Ulysses" from the outside world lures him by stories of a more

⁵ From the records of the Unattached and Transient Division.

exciting existence or a tale of fabulous wages in a nearby city, he takes to the road. In some cases, the girl may follow to the next city; but in the end she loses her temporary lover. During the course of their wanderings, these men may pick up lonely Negro women in domestic service who gratify their sexual longings and provide them with temporary lodging and food. While these men are acquiring sophistication in the ways of the city, they are becoming thoroughly individuated men. By the time they reach Chicago, Detroit, or New York, they have learned how to survive without labor. Some of them have acquired the art of exploiting women for their support. Girls who have run away from their homes in the South and sought adventure in these large cities often become, in spite of their callousness and boasted toughness, the tools of these men. However, these same women sometimes during their sentimental reflections disclose a hidden longing for the security and affection of their families, or betray an abiding attachment to an illegitimate child that they have left with a parent or relative during their wanderings.

III. From this migratory group of men and women, we turn now to the great mass of the Negro migrants who have come to the city in family groups or in remnants of family groups. This movement was at its peak during the World War when not only whole families but entire communities picked up their meagre possessions and joined the flight from the semifeudal conditions of the South to the modern industrial centers of the North. One can get some notion of the volume of the tide of black humanity that overwhelmed the comparatively small Negro communities in northern cities by considering the increases in the Negro population of the four principal cities to which these migrants were attracted. Between 1910 and 1920, the Negro population of Detroit increased 611.3 percent; that of Chicago 148.2 percent; that of the Borough of Manhattan in New York City 80.3 percent; and that of Philadelphia 58.9 percent. The immediate effect of the inundation of Negro communities in northern cities was conflict with the white population in contiguous areas. However, the subsequent expansion of the Negro communities proceeded in accordance with the natural growth of these cities.

What especially interests us in regard to the expansion of these Negro communities is that, through selection, various elements of the population have become segregated, thus causing the spatial organization of these communities to reflect their economic and cultural organization. In the case of Chicago, it was possible to divide the Negro community into seven zones of about a mile in length indicating its southward expansion along and parallel to one of the arterial highways radiating from the center of the city.⁶ The selection which had taken place during the expansion of

⁶ See the author's *The Negro Family in Chicago*, Chicago, 1932, chap. 6, for detailed information on the character of these zones as well as the method used in defining them.

the Negro population was indicated by the decline in the percentage of southern-born Negroes and illiteracy, the decrease in the proportion of persons engaged in unskilled labor and domestic service and the percentage of women employed, and a corresponding increase in the percentage of mulattoes in the population and of persons in professional and public service in the successive zones. A similar selection was found in the Harlem Negro community in New York City. However, whereas the Chicago Negro community in its expansion has cut across the concentric zones of the larger community and shows the impress of the larger community, the Harlem Negro community has expanded radially from the area where Negroes first settled and has assumed the same pattern of zones as a self-contained city.⁷

When the Negro family is studied in relation to the economic and cultural organization of these communities, we are able to obtain a rough measure, at least, of the Negro's success in the struggle to support himself or family and attain a normal family life. Therefore, let us consider first the question of family dependency. From the records of the United Charities it appears that under normal conditions between eight and nine percent of the families in the poorer areas of Chicago are dependent upon charity. However, the rate of family dependency showed a progressive decline in the successive zones marking the expansion of the community. In the seventh zone only one percent of the families were dependent.⁸ Although we do not possess comparable data for Harlem, we know that prior to the crash in 1929 between 25 and 30 percent of the "under care" families handled by the Charity Organization Society in an area in New York City including a part of Harlem were Negro cases. The present economic crisis has tended to emphasize the precarious economic situation of a large percentage of Negro families in our cities. According to the 1933 report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, as high as 85 percent of the Negro families in some cities were receiving relief. The percentage of Negro families receiving relief was highest in such highly industrialized areas as Toledo, Akron, and Pittsburgh, where large numbers of Negroes are employed in unskilled labor; the percentage in Chicago and New York was around 46 percent and 30 percent respectively.

In the case of the Harlem community, we are able to study the incidence of relief in relation to the spatial organization of the Negro area. During the first week of September 1935, there were 24,292 Negro families on Home Relief, this being 43.2 percent of the 56,137 Negro families in this area. However, the incidence of relief varied considerably in the zones marking the outward expansion of the community from its center. The percentage of families receiving relief declined rapidly from 70.9 percent

⁷ See the author's article, "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, July 1937.

⁸ See *The Negro Family in Chicago*, pp. 150 ff.

in the central zone to 28.4 percent in the outermost zone. This is of special interest because, although in some areas of the peripheral zone were found some of the poorest Negro families in the entire community, the incidence in these areas did not vary greatly from the average for the zone as a whole. The only explanation that occurs to us is that the family groups that tended to be segregated in the peripheral zones were better able to meet collectively the economic crisis than the single, unattached, separated and widowed men and women who tended to congregate in the center of the community. This selection was shown in the marital status of the population in the various zones. The percentage of single men declined in the successive zones outward from 42.6 to 31.1 percent and that of single women from 30.9 to 23.5 percent. On the other hand, the proportion of men and women married increased from about 50 percent each to 64 percent for the men and to 60 percent for the women.⁹ A similar tendency was discovered in the case of the Negro community in Chicago.¹⁰

The selection and segregation of the population with reference to marital status coincides with other processes of organization and disorganization of Negro family life in the city. In Chicago, home ownership was closely correlated with family stability, whereas, in Harlem, with its apartments and multiple dwellings, it was not significant. Similarly, the relationship between family organization and disorganization and the spatial organization of the Negro community was more evident in Chicago with its relatively simple pattern than in Harlem with its more complex pattern. For example, the desertion and non-support rates declined regularly from two and a half percent of the total families in the poorer zone near the Chicago loop to less than one half of one percent in the outermost zone. Although a similar tendency in regard to desertions was discernible in the Harlem Negro community, the various zones did not show the same degree of cultural homogeneity as the Chicago zones. Thus, in Chicago the delinquency rate declined from 42.8 percent in the zone of considerable family and community disorganization near the center of the city to 1.4 percent in the outermost zone of stable family life and home ownership. However, in Harlem, no such decline in the successive zones of population expansion was discernible in regard to juvenile delinquency. It would require a more intimate study of the character and culture of the various zones in order to determine the relationship between community factors and juvenile delinquency. Nevertheless, it is apparent that as a result of competition, various elements of the Negro population in both cities are selected and segregated in a way which enables the student to get some measure of the processes of organization and disorganization.

This is seen most clearly in regard to the question of the survival of the

⁹ See "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ See *The Negro Family in Chicago*, chap. 7.

Negro in the city. The low fertility of Negro women in cities has been shown in a number of studies. According to Thompson and Whelpton, Negroes in large cities, including Chicago and New York, "were not maintaining their numbers on a permanent basis in either 1920 or 1928."¹¹ Lately, Clyde Kiser has found that the fertility of Negro women in a health area in New York was lower than that of white women of similar and higher occupational status in several urban communities.¹² However, if we study the fertility of Negro women in relation to the organization of the Negro community, some important facts are revealed. For example, in Chicago in 1920, the highest ratio of children under five to women of child-bearing age, i.e., 15 to 44, was found in the two peripheral zones, or the areas of stable family life and home ownership. The ratio was higher in these zones than in the zones where the poorer migrant families settled and almost twice as high as the ratio in the bright light area with its cabarets, saloons, and houses of prostitution.¹³

Harlem offers even more striking evidence of the influence of selective factors on the survival of the Negro in the city. In 1920, the ratio of children under 5 to 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age increased in the successive zones outward from the center of the community from 109 in the first to 274 in the fifth, with a slight variation in the fourth. However, in 1930, the ratio of children increased regularly from 115 in the first to 462 in the outermost zone. This latter figure is about the same as the ratio in towns with from 2,500 to 10,000 population. Differential survival rates were revealed also in the ratio of deaths to births in 1930 in the various zones. In the central zone, the population was dying out, there being 112 deaths to each 100 births. However, the ratio of deaths to births declined in the successive zones until it reached less than 50 to 100 in the areas near the periphery of the community. Looking at the situation from the standpoint of births alone, we find that in 1930 there was one child born to each 25 women, 20 to 44 years of age, in the central zone. From this zone outward, the number of women of child-bearing age per child born declined regularly until it reached eight in the outermost zone. Thus the survival of the Negro in the city seems to be influenced by the same selective factors which determine the spatial organization and social structure of the Negro community.

Let us return now to the four traditional patterns of family life described above and consider them in relation to the selective process at work in these communities. The first or maternal type of family offers little resistance to the disintegrating forces in the urban environment. Because of their poverty, these families are forced to seek homes in the poorer sections of the Negro community. Moreover, since these families are supported

¹¹ Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States*, New York, 1933, p. 280.

¹² Clyde V. Kiser, "Fertility of Harlem Negroes," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 13, July, 1935, 273-285.

¹³ See *The Negro Family in Chicago*, pp. 136-144.

solely by the mother who is generally employed in domestic service or at unskilled labor, they easily slip into the ranks of those dependent upon charity. The children suffer not only from the lack of parental control but are subjected to the vicious environment of disorganized areas. Consequently, many of the boys become members of delinquent gangs, while the girls are guilty of sex delinquency, which often leads to unmarried motherhood.

In these same areas may be found the poorer families of the paternal type. In these families, as well as those of the maternal type, a large percentage of the mothers are forced to be wage earners. Whether they maintain their paternal organization depends upon a number of factors, including the vitality of family traditions, the security and regularity of employment of the father, the development of common interests, and the degree to which these families are integrated into the institutions of the Negro community. But, it often happens that the father's interest in his family rests upon some immediate interest, or is based upon mere sympathy and habit. Under such circumstances, if the father loses his job or if he develops new interests in the urban environment that are antagonistic to the common interests of his family, he may easily join the ranks of the large number of Negro deserters. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the families inhabiting these blighted areas are free from the censure of public opinion, as well as other types of communal control. On the other hand, those families that succeed in maintaining a community of interest or develop new ambitions for their children generally move, if their economic resources permit, towards the periphery of the Negro community. Their movement at first may be just beyond the area of extreme deterioration and poverty.

It may take another generation for these families to reach the periphery of the Negro community where one finds the families of the third type—those having a background of several generations of stable family life and firmly rooted traditions. It was old mulatto families of the third type who sometimes fled before the onrush of the uncouth Negroes from the South to areas beyond the borders of the Negro community. But as a rule they sought the periphery of the Negro community as is shown in the case of the seventh zone in Chicago, where half of the inhabitants were mulattoes.¹⁴ Then, too, sometimes these old established families have isolated themselves and have regarded with mixed feelings of contempt and envy the rise of the ambitious elements in the lower and, on the whole, darker elements in the Negro population. But, just as in the rigorous competitive life of the northern city, the poor and illiterate Negroes with no other resources but their folk culture are ground down by disease, vice, and poverty, those possessing intelligence and skill and a fund of family traditions find a chance to rise beyond the caste restrictions of the South. Thus, there has

¹⁴ See *The Negro Family in Chicago*, pp. 101-105.

come into existence in these cities a fairly large middle-class element comprised of the more ambitious elements of the second type of families and representatives of the third type with a few descendants of the fourth type of families. Their pattern of family life approaches that of the white middle class. It is the emergence of this class which accounts largely for those orderly and stable areas on the periphery of the Negro communities in our cities. In between such areas and the areas of extreme deterioration where family disorganization is highest, there are areas of a mixed character in which the more stable and better paid industrial workers find homes.

In view of the process described here, it is not surprising that in the area occupied by the middle-class families, there may be on the average more children, as for example in Chicago, than in the areas of extreme poverty and family disorganization. In the case of the Harlem community which resembles in its spatial organization a self-contained city, relatively large family groups of working class as well as middle class status tend to become segregated on the periphery, though they occupy different areas. In the center of the Harlem community, which is essentially a non-family area, one may find the emancipated from all classes and elements.

IV. Our discussion points to a number of conclusions which may be stated briefly as follows. First, it seems inevitable that, as long as the bankrupt and semifeudal agricultural system in the South continues to throw off men and women who lose the restraints imposed by a simple folk culture, there will be a class of roving Negroes who will live a lawless sex and quasi-family life. Secondly, the great mass of migrants who, as a rule, manage to preserve remnants of their family organization must face in the competitive life of the city a severe struggle for survival and, at the same time, be subjected to the disintegrating forces in the urban environment. The fate and fortunes of these families will depend upon both their economic and their cultural resources. Many of the poorer families that are held together solely by the affectional ties between mother and children, will be ground down by poverty and the children will be scattered and are likely to become delinquent. Those families in which the father's interest rests upon no firmer basis than some passing attachment, or mere sympathy and habit, may suffer a similar fate. But, if such families succeed in becoming integrated into the institutional life of the community and have sufficient income to avoid dependence upon charity, they may achieve a fair degree of stabilization. On the other hand, the economically better situated families, in which the father's interest is supported by tradition and tied up with the common interests of the family, may resist the disintegrating effects of the city and some of the children will enter the middle class. The traditions of these families will become merged with the traditions of mulatto families, many of free origin, who once formed an upper social class. The economic and cultural organization of the Negro community which emerges as the result of competition indicates the selective influence of the urban environment on these various family heritages.

THE STATUS OF THE FAMILY IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY

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LIKE all other institutions of the Soviet Union, the family of today must be recognized as resulting from at least three distinct influences which contribute largely to the culture pattern of the present time. These are the institutions of prewar years, or rather perhaps of the last century; the industrialization and urbanization of the Russian people which was well under way before the Great War; and finally, the ideology of the Revolution of 1917 as articulated by Lenin and carried on by the Communist party.¹ If, for purposes of analysis, one may distinguish between these three major factors in the social structure of present-day Soviet Russia, one must recognize the first of the three as constituting the foundation or base material. The last two are, broadly speaking, the most vital elements in the social process out of which the new social order, so easily recognizable in the Soviet Union has taken form.

Just why any system of thought so virile and positive as that of the Russian Bolsheviks should have taken root in the individualistic philosophy predominant in nineteenth century Russia is a problem of culture transfusion not yet explained adequately.² The violence of reaction against the whole of the old pattern, insofar as the young Bolsheviks analysed it, accounts in part for the sweeping changes in all the old institutions which the new revolutionary ideology propounded. Bolshevik iconoclasm handled with equal vigor and antagonism the Czarist government, capitalist economy, the Greek Orthodox Church and the authoritative family. The basic principles of the reaction against the old institutions were formed, moreover, not only by Lenin and his adherents before the Revolution, but by the exasperated masses of workers and peasants during its course. The new social controls put forward by Communist leadership and painfully built up by Soviet peoples during the last twenty years are in many respects the results of social dialectics. The importance of "the masses," that is, the predominant social welfare, the equality of women, the rights of children and the protection of individual liberty in all basic life or subcultural processes—these are characteristic of Bolshevik principle. But they are also an example of overwhelming social reaction.

The Soviet family during the last twenty years, like all other institutions of the Soviet peoples, has undergone a vast revolutionary process which has been rapid, continuous and irresistibly experimental. The deinstitutional-

¹ Cf. Susan M. Kingsbury and Mildred Fairchild, *Factory, Family and Woman in the Soviet Union*, New York, Putnam, 1935, pp. xix ff.

² Cf. Edward Sapir, "Culture Genuine or Spurious," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 29, 401-429.

ing of the family, if one may call it that, came rapidly in the early years of the Revolution and Civil War. By decrees signed by Lenin on December 19 and 20, 1917, entitled "The Dissolution of Marriage" and "Civil Marriage, Children and Registration," Soviet law swept away the old ecclesiastical marriage as an obligatory rite. It dissolved the Czarist code which had given headship to the husband, including not only citizenship, nationality, residence and name but power of decision in all matters of family concern, the education of children, as well as control of property. In its place the new law put equality of husband and wife, separation of property and mutual responsibility of each for support of the other and of children. Marriage and divorce were made free by the simple process of registration, with divorce available upon the wish of only one party. Illegitimacy of children was abolished so that the children of an unregistered marriage or mere cohabitation shared equally in rights of support from both parents with those born of a registered marriage. The new laws were adapted to the needs of the workers and peasants who for lack of a marriage fee had been dispensing increasingly with official services or public avowals. The code of 1918 concerning "the registration of births, marriages and deaths and the law of marriage, the family and wardship" was based upon the decrees of 1917.³

During the years of civil war and foreign intervention, marriage and sex relations were little short of anarchical. The courts were clogged with the suits of women attempting to hold men to the responsibilities of paternity or of alimony to a divorced or deserted wife. In sex relations the famous "glass of water" theory of free and physical sex love swept the youth of the cities, universities and army into a period of multiple relations and promiscuity.

The principles of the leaders of the Revolution wavered very little, but fanaticism ran high among certain of their followers, including some of the Bolsheviks themselves. Lenin expressed himself unequivocally:

Naturally the changed attitude of the young people to sexual questions is "fundamental" and appeals to a theory. Some call their attitude "communist" and "revolutionary." They honestly believe that it is so. I at my age am not impressed. Although I am far from being a somber ascetic, the so-called "new sexual life" of the young people—and sometimes of the old—seems to me to be often enough wholly bourgeois, an extension of the good bourgeois brothel . . . This "glass of water" theory has driven some of our young people crazy, quite crazy. It has been the destruction of many young men and women. Its supporters declare that it is Marxist. I have no use for such Marxism . . . I consider the famous glass of water theory to be utterly un-Marxian, and moreover unsocial. It is not only natural factors that operate in sexual life, but also those which have become an element in civilization, whether high or low . . .⁴

³ Fanina Halle, *Woman in Soviet Russia*, New York, Viking Press, 1933, pp. 105-109.

⁴ Quoted from a letter to Clara Zetkin by Halle, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Preoccupation with the struggle for existence perhaps left little time for public discussion or consideration of the sex mores during the early years of the Revolution. Ten years later, however, reaction against promiscuity was in the air. A "New Code of Laws on Marriage, the Family and Wardship" becoming effective January 1, 1927 had been discussed widely for more than a year. Under the new code the principles of legal control remained fundamentally the same but many loopholes in interpretation were stopped. The purpose of the law was the regulation of "the legal relationships arising from marriage, the family and wardship on the basis of the new revolutionary life, of protecting the interest of the mother and especially of the children, and placing the spouses on an equal footing in respect to property and the education of the children."⁸ Beyond social control over these matters, the relation between the sexes was counted still a matter of private concern only.

Registration of marriage and divorce remained simple, with a fee added for a marriage certificate if it were wanted, and to cover the cost of clerical service in divorce. Both parties must appear for marriage registration, however, and attest to their previous marriages, registered or *de facto*, their divorces, children, occupation, social position and health. They must sign an agreement accepting the terms of the marriage laws. No marriage might be registered unless a previous marriage, whether registered or *de facto*, had been dissolved. All lasting cohabitation was to be counted as marriage, but proof of it must be confirmed legally, if legal obligations were to be enjoined. Equality of the sexes in rights, obligations and property holding was guaranteed.

Divorce was obtainable at will and at the request of one party only, without previous notification, indeed, of the other. If the desire for divorce were mutual, both parties must appear before the registry office to confirm their agreement and to arrange for division of property and mutual obligations. If it were at the wish of one party only, notification of the matter must be made by the registry office but must be paid for by the divorcing party. In division of property the rights of both parties were equal. The obligation of both to payment of alimony was equal, as well, but alimony for a marriage partner was required only for an indigent person incapable of work or unemployed, and only for a limited period of time.

The law was explicit regarding the obligation for the care of children. This, indeed, was and is the primary purpose of marriage regulations in the Soviet Union. Responsibility belonged to both parents and was divided equally, although subject to their own agreement. In case of divorce, lacking an agreement, the court has awarded the child to the parent it has adjudged most capable of its education and support. In practice the child has been left usually with the mother, at least for the first eight years.

⁸ From the preamble, as translated by Halle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

Support of children was obligatory and enforced strictly, from both parents, however, and in accordance with their ability to pay. The obligation for support was equal for all children, indeed, whether born in marriage or from a transitory connection. Likewise the right of inheritance of all children was equal. If the paternity of the child was indeterminable, in the Ukraine a collective paternity might be pronounced, all possible fathers sharing in support; in the greater part of Soviet Russia, the potential father most able to pay has been held responsible.⁶

As stated above, the code of 1926 was adopted only after long and earnest discussion. Differences of opinion which, from an external point of view, appear not very fundamental were expressed on all sides. The law as adopted probably met with a majority approval. Soviet marriage was a civil contract with the state intervening only to regulate obligations arising therefrom. In no way was the state to act as moral censor or agent. Sex relations were adjudged as personal and individual affairs.

Today the law remains the same, with the exception of divorce. Here, since an amendment of June 27, 1936, the lines have been tightened slightly. Where desire for divorce is not mutual, previous notification must be given by the divorcing partner; delay in granting the decree is necessary, if consent is not forthcoming from both parties. The fee for divorce has been increased considerably and it rises with the number granted to any one applicant.

The freedom of these laws resulted in a very considerable amount of family disorganization in early years, even where war and famine had not already produced a similar result. Divorce was frequent with, consequently, a relatively large amount of change among marriage partners. As the years have passed, greater stability has become evident. Data, covering any period and bearing the mark of authenticity, are not available for a study of the changes or of their trends. Opinion seems to be unanimous among all persons, however, as to general tendencies. The purpose of the law in its application would appear to have been, always, a maximum of personal freedom in family and sex relations, consonant with stability of reproduction and child care, as the Russians interpreted it.

A factor which the Russians themselves have considered of first rate importance to family life has been the freedom or regulation of abortion. In prewar days, both the religious code and civil law forbade the practice, at the same time, disapproving and forbidding the use of contraceptives as a means of birth control. The great homes for foundlings of Czarist Russia indicated a large number of illegitimate or unwanted births. But the use of illegal and dangerous abortion methods was claimed by the Revolutionists to have been tremendous.

⁶ Halle, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-136. See also Sir Arthur Newsholme, and J. A. Kingsbury, *Red Medicine*, New York, Doubleday Doran, 1933, pp. 148-158.

By the law of November 18, 1920, abortion was made legitimate for all women upon demand. It was to be performed only by a licensed health officer under the control of the Commissariat of Health. But it was to be permissible so long as, in the words of the decree, "the moral heritage of the past and the difficult economic conditions of the present still force a section of the women to submit to this operation."⁷ In practise, physicians attempted to discourage the women physically capable of childbirth from undergoing abortion but, where the applicant for the operation persisted in her demands and came within the specified health requirements, they performed it. The number of operations performed yearly was reported regularly and it was high.⁸

On June 27, 1936, after months of public discussion, again, a new law was passed; to quote: "In view of the proven harm of abortions, to forbid the performance of abortions both in hospitals and health institutions, and in the homes of doctors and the private homes of pregnant women. The performance of abortions shall be allowed exclusively in those cases where the continuation of the pregnancy endangers the life or threatens serious injury to the health of the pregnant woman and equally when a serious disease of the parents can be inherited, and only under hospital or maternity home conditions." For illegal performance of the operation, criminal punishment was fixed for the doctor or other person performing the operation, for any person compelling a woman to undergo it, and a light penalty for a woman submitting to it.⁹

Accompanying freedom of abortion has been freedom for the dissemination of birth control information and the use of contraceptives. The new decree forbidding abortion made no reference to birth control. It does, however, increase materially the provisions for maternity consultation centers and maternity beds in hospitals, the growth of which already had been great during the last decade. Since the dissemination of knowledge and the distribution of contraceptives has been one function of the maternity clinics and hospitals, one may expect a spread of birth control with the enlargement of these facilities.

No data are available, to the writer's knowledge, on the average size of the Russian family. Data do show improved health and conditions of life, however, as reflected in mortality rates. In Moscow, the birth rate declined from an average of 32.2 per 1,000 inhabitants between 1901 and 1914, to 22 per 1,000 in 1929. General mortality rates in Moscow declined from 32.2 in 1901-14 to 13.2 in 1929 and infant mortality in Moscow was lowered from 260 in 1913 to 131 in 1929.¹⁰ The writer does not have comparable

⁷ Code of Laws 90, p. 471, quoted by *The Moscow Daily News*, June 28, 1936.

⁸ Newsholme and Kingsbury, *op. cit.*, chapter on "Abortions."

⁹ *The Moscow Daily News*, June 28, 1936.

¹⁰ Cf. Kingsbury and Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 239, and Newsholme and Kingsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 202

data for the entire nation, but such figures as are available indicate similar trends, if somewhat lesser declines.

The purpose of the law of 1936 as given in the preamble is interesting in this connection. To quote again: "Necessary material provision for women and their children, state aid to large families, the utmost development of the network of maternity homes, nurseries, kindergartens, legislative establishment of a minimum of sums which the father of a child must pay for its upkeep when husband and wife dwell apart, on the one hand, and prohibition of abortions, on the other, coupled with an increased penalty for willful non-payment of the means for the maintenance of the children awarded by the court, and the introduction of certain changes in the legislation on divorce for the purpose of combating a light-minded attitude towards the family and family obligations—such are the roads which must be followed in order to solve this important problem affecting the entire population."¹¹ The decree is interpreted by many persons as a continuance of the movement toward stabilization in family relations.

Other factors besides the sex mores and the established laws regulating marriage have contributed to the status of the family in the Soviet Union. Prominent among these is the position of women under Soviet rule. Equality in both political and economic life has been given to women officially by both the old and new constitutions. Articles¹² of the new constitution, adopted in 1936, read:

Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The exercise of these rights is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Obviously, equality must be not only a matter of law, but even more one of cultural tradition and the mores. Equality between men and women has not been achieved in practice today in Russia, but the movement toward it unquestionably is great. Economic independence of women, or at least their participation in personal and family support, increases steadily. In 1935, 33 percent of all employed persons were women and over 65 percent of the able-bodied women of working age were employed outside the home.¹³ Equal pay for equal work has not yet given them equality of earnings with men, but the increase of women's skill and experience moves them steadily

¹¹ Quoted from *The Moscow Daily News*, June 28, 1936.

¹² Articles 122 and 137.

¹³ In 1934, 75 percent of medical students, 50 percent of pedagogical students, and 23 percent of engineering students in the universities were women. See *Women in U.S.S.R.* (in Russian), Moscow, 1936, pp. 99-103.

upward in earning power and economic responsibility. University enrollments as well as employment figures show them steadily increasing their relative strength in the fields of engineering and government as well as of teaching, medicine and law.¹⁴

Politically, their interests expand also. In 1926 only 40 percent of the women in the R.S.F.S.R. voted; in 1934, 90 percent voted. In 1926, 18 percent of the persons elected to the town Soviets and less than one percent of those elected to village Soviets were women; in 1934, the percentages were over 30 and about seven, respectively.

Obviously the repercussions of such activities and interests outside the home and family circle must have considerable weight in determining the character of the Russian family today. The question arises at once as to whether women in Soviet Russia are less concerned with the care of their families than they are elsewhere, or whether they carry more frequently the double burden of work inside and outside the home.

To a certain extent and increasingly the answer may be found in the network of public service which surrounds the Russian mother today. Improved care of both mother and child in consultation centers, maternity hospitals, and mother and child clinics is designed to lighten the burden of pregnancy, child birth and care of the infant. Although the network of these services is recognized as not yet adequate, the quantity and quality of these institutions rises steadily. Crèches and kindergartens increasingly care for the child during working hours, performing certain routine functions in the physical attention essential to the healthy infant. Public restaurants, factory kitchens, and delicatessen services, public laundries and even public baths, are expected to lessen considerably the time and energy needed for the mother to attend to the family's physical needs. Soviet policy interprets the essential functions of the woman in the family as other than those of cooking, washing the clothes, or even bathing the children.¹⁵

The status of the child in relation to the state or communal control is equally important to the position of the family and its function in any society. Whereas in Czarist Russia the child was almost entirely dependent upon the family unless it were of illegitimate birth or a foundling, in Soviet Russia government has taken a large measure of responsibility for its care and education. The trend is similar to that of modern governments elsewhere, but the volume of service rendered is exceptional nevertheless. Children are carefully protected. Employment except under regular apprenticeship conditions is legally prohibited before age sixteen. The development of maternity clinics and infant crèches has been recognized generally as great and it proceeds steadily. Social medicine and health in-

¹⁴ *The U.S.S.R. in Figures*, Moscow, 1935, p. 260.

¹⁵ Kingsbury and Fairchild, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-257.

surance are intended to make medical service available to all employed and wage-earning classes. Public education begins its work with the preschool child at four years of age and continues in accordance with the child's ability through the years of university training. The last is facilitated not only by free tuition but by extensive government stipends for regular student support as well.

Figures indicating the extent of these programs are readily available. Official data show 60 percent of the young children of working mothers in key industries accommodated in nurseries in 1932. The resources were expected to accommodate all the young children of these women in 1937. In 1932, over 600,000 permanent places in crèches were available in town and country and over 5,000,000 seasonal ones were set up in the country. The second Five-Year Plan proposed to double the numbers before 1937.¹⁶ Again, the law relating to abortions and aid to mothers and children, passed in 1936 and quoted above, provided funds for doubling once more the permanent crèche facilities existing in 1936, by 1939. Child mortality in European Russia has been estimated as averaging 275 per 1,000 in 1913 and 141 per 1,000 in 1930.¹⁷ In 1914-15, 7,800,000 children have been listed as in elementary and secondary schools; in 1934-35, 23,454,000 were so listed.¹⁸

In addition, communal services and recreational and cultural activities are conducted under public auspices, such as parks, playgrounds, libraries and all varieties of theatres. Programs carried on under Communist party direction, such as those for Komsomols and Young Pioneers, offer extensive leisure-time guidance to all ages of youth. These facilities are most highly developed in just those urban and industrial areas, moreover, where the women most frequently are engaged in outside employment.

If these things may be regarded as factors of change in family relationships, some of them may be listed equally well as factors contributing to stability. Foremost among these is the extensive program of social insurance. Maternity insurance, health insurance, invalidity and old-age pensions are practically universal among wage-earning and salaried persons. Their benefits for disabled persons, in general, are claimed to be nearly equal to regular wages and to cover the cost of especial outlays for medical aid. Official figures indicate that employment under the socialized and planned program has been maintained with little interruption during the ten-year period under which the new economic system has been in operation. It is claimed, also, that the main problems of industrial exploitation have been solved, or that the methods of solution have been supplied through extensive and powerful trade union protection.¹⁹ Many of the economic hazards which the family faces in modern industrial society,

¹⁶ *The Second Five Year Plan*, Moscow, 1936, p. 651.

¹⁷ Newsholme and Kingsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁸ *The U.S.S.R. in Figures*, Moscow, 1935, p. 252.

¹⁹ Kingsbury and Fairchild, *op. cit.*, chaps. 5, 6 and 7.

therefore, appear to have been eliminated or provided for on a large scale.

Problems of poverty and an insufficient standard of life remain to be solved by an increased national income which must outstrip considerably the growing population to become in any sense adequate. But with one exception these strains upon the social and economic structure have not come with especial force upon the family. The exception is the breakdown leading to hunger and migration which occasionally has affected large areas, especially of peasants, during the twenty year period, as the result of bad harvests, drouth and political dissension. Hunger, always, is a disorganizing force.

Another problem that remains to be solved before the family can be free to develop in accordance with the natural physical and psychological reactions of its members, as the Russians interpret that freedom, is the shortage of housing. Housing in Russia never has been adequate to give sufficient space for the home. The masses of Russians have never known the home facilities that the majority of Americans or western Europeans have had. Conditions in prewar Russia restricted home life for most workers and even for the majority of peasants to a minimum of shelter. Home as the center of family relaxation and enjoyment existed only for the upper classes.

After the Revolution, redistribution of available space was undertaken in many cities; but it was incapable of solving the slum problem. For ten years, also, new construction was almost at a standstill. During the last ten years, building programs have been extensive but in no sense sufficient to alter greatly the congestion of the urban centers; population growth in the cities has offset much of the improvement. In 1932, four and two-thirds square meters constituted the average floor space per person in urban communities.²⁰

While housing facilities remain low, Soviet Russia is developing vast communal services to meet the needs of her population in health, food, sanitation, education and recreation. The movement of the entire family into these public and communal centers for all these functions has proceeded on a great scale. To a limited degree, as the Russian peasant follows the urban worker into collective enterprise, he participates increasingly in the communal life that is typical of the city.²¹ Whether or not these provisions will permanently restrict popular demand for home facilities and activities to a relatively low standard remains to be seen.

The picture, then, if one may summarize it, is one of tremendous change in the status and structure of Russian family life after twenty years under

²⁰ *The Second Five Year Plan*, p. 649, Official statistics show a net increase of 10,000,000 people in urban population between 1928 and 1933.

²¹ Cf. Articles 118-121 of the New Constitution. See *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1936, pp. 34-36.

the Soviet government. The movement has been one from a paternalistic, authoritative great family to one with a high degree of individualization. Not all the process may be attributed to postwar years. Much disintegration of the old family had taken place before the Revolution. Lines of development were appearing comparable to those under industrialization and urbanization in other countries. But the principles and problems of the Soviet government have intensified the movement, both in quantity and probably in quality of growth.

Stripped of its old social controls and given an extraordinary degree of freedom of the individual from restraint in sex relations, the family nevertheless, in the opinion of the writer, has maintained its place as the primary unit of social organization. The instability of personnel which characterized it considerably in early post-revolutionary years has lessened with time and experience. Except among the youth and certain intellectual groups, probably, stability always has been more common than uncommon. Old ties of family affection and tradition inherited from the past undoubtedly have been a stabilizing factor. Warm emotions between parents and children and rigid legal obligations for the latter have been steadying influences during the experimental years.

Collectivist principles, at the same time, have added greatly to the process of individualization. Communist society has attempted to insure to the individual that he shall be born under healthful conditions and that he shall be properly nourished and educated. It has accepted responsibility for giving him opportunity for development of his individual gifts. It has surrounded him with a screen of social services which are designed not only to remove the hazards of modern industrial civilization, but in a degree to level the inequalities of chance as well. Necessarily, dependence upon such units of social organization as family, church or voluntary society has been in some measure transferred to government.

How one may compare the internal family relationships and the consequent functioning of family life under the old and new forms of organization, the writer does not know with certainty. Generalization from necessarily limited knowledge shows intensely interesting psychological relations between husband and wife, and parents and children. Authority, vested as it is primarily in the state, plays a relatively small part in family life. Superior intelligence or experience, nevertheless, plus the remnants of old mores far from gone, plainly develop leadership. In cases that the writer knows, comradeship supplements love and tenderness between the sexes and between parents and children to a marked degree; horizontal rather than vertical relations are apparent. But whether these observations would hold for any considerable section of the people the writer will not attempt to state.

One may say, certainly, that Russian parents carry, still, the primary

responsibility for the nurture and upbringing of their children. But hospital, nursery, school and club supplement the building of their habits of body and mind. In matters which vary as widely as a well regulated hygiene for the infant and a choice of a vocation for the young adult, government agencies offer professional services far beyond the powers of the average parent to render. Parents, in these matters, become advisers, but their power of control is curtailed sharply by the prestige and authority of doctor, teacher and group leader. Where the interests of parents run counter to the policies of the Communist Party, certainly, they can hardly prevail.

In relations between husband and wife, as well, the duty or obligation of the one to the other may not exceed the duty of both to society and to the state. In principle, moreover, sex equality has tended to give preference to the woman in settling matters relating to her economic status in the family. Probably the same thing is true in decisions as to the number of children which she shall bear. Soviet Russia is not alone, of course, in this trend toward woman's independence; but predominant social opinion has swung far to the side of the woman's right to regulate all matters which concern herself in the first instance. The limitations which exist are those imposed by the state for the welfare of society. Whether, in practice, these principles hold generally, an outsider can hardly judge. Traditions and old practices are far from dead in Russia, but the rate of change seems extraordinarily rapid.

Disintegration undoubtedly has accompanied the formation of the new society, with, in many instances, disastrous effects upon family relationships. The revolutionary process has involved great destruction as well as vast new construction. The available facts, however, seem to the writer to indicate continuity and a rising stability in the family. It is a continuity and stability based upon sub-cultural functions, upon related affectional ties, upon the psychological reactions resulting from intimate personal associations in daily living. As an instrument of social control, the Soviet family bears little likeness to the patriarchal family of the old Russia. The process of individualization has gone a long way.

CHINESE FAMILY LIFE IN AMERICA

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✓ **M**ANY Chinese husbands and wives as well as fathers and children live on opposite shores of the Pacific Ocean. This separation explains the fact that the United States Census for 1930 reported as married more than four times as many Chinese men as women. Since there were in 1930 only about two Chinese children for every three married Chinese males in the United States, it is obvious that a majority of the children were also across the water. In fact a substantial proportion of these children may be found with their mothers or relatives in the southern province of Kwangtung. This means that during part of its history the typical Chinese family in America has been a broken family. Furthermore, if the wife and children eventually come to the West, they are years behind the husband or father in acceptance of Western mores.

Under the old regime in China a married mother was more a daughter-in-law than a wife. There is a proverb: "A son-in-law may perform one-half of the duty of a son, but a daughter-in-law must do twice as much as a daughter." As long as her parents-in-law were alive she had an obligation to serve them. If her husband left for America, she stayed at home. These Chinese mores were strengthened by the Exclusion Act of 1882 which forbids alien Chinese laborers bringing their wives or children to this country.

Many children of Chinese residents in America were, of course, born in China. It is also a common practice to send the eldest son back to China for his education in Chinese language and customs and for his marriage. In the words of one of the older generation:

Chinese girl I think very much better than American-born Chinese. No spend so much money. No like go shows. All they think about stay home help husband, save money. American-born Chinese girl, my God, spend lots of money, buy all the time, pretty clothes, fancy shoes. American girl no know Chinese custom, no like big family, little family. Yes, I think China boy much better marry girl in China.¹

When the Chinese first came to America about the middle of the nineteenth century they came as contract laborers to work on the railroads, in the mines and on the farms. This migration was largely a male enterprise. In addition to the obligations of the daughter-in-law in a big Chinese family, foot-binding was at that time a common practice in most of the districts from which Chinese came and a woman with bound feet could not help her husband earn a living in the new country. Between 1890 and 1930 the total number of Chinese males in the United States 15 years of age and over decreased about one-half, however, and the total number of females of the same age increased almost three times. In spite of this trend China-

¹ *Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey*, Document 242.

town remains predominantly a community of men. The proportion of Chinese males 15 years of age and over to females of the same age for British Columbia in 1931 was still about eighteen to one. For Oregon, Washington and California, where the Chinese have lived during a longer period, this ratio was less than five to one in 1930. In general, there was among the Chinese from 1890 to 1930 a decrease in the percentage of single persons of marriageable age, an increase in the percentage married, and a marked increase in the percentage widowed and divorced.

It is significant that the American-born Chinese were reported as having twice as many males as females in 1930. In spite of the so-called exclusion acts there are ways of juggling passports and citizenship papers, known best to certain well-paid immigration go-betweens that are attached to the more important clans, whereby children born in China can be brought to America. Since this service is expensive sons are brought over more frequently than daughters. After arrival there is a tendency for these China-born Chinese to report themselves falsely as American citizens. Another factor which helps to explain this excess of males is that many Chinese immigrant families are now sending all their children to the fatherland for an education, the sons returning to America more frequently than the daughters. These practices help to preserve the unequal sex ratio.

It has been said that the chief characteristic of the modern American family is the diversity of its form. Variety also marks the Chinese family in America. There are so many distinctively unique family situations among the Chinese that one is embarrassed in attempting to generalize. This fact of uniqueness is associated with the individualism and democracy of the Chinese. They show a distinct tendency to solve their problems in the new American environment by a common-sense treatment which includes the evaluation of the personalities and temperaments of the individual members of the family group and a consideration of the particular situation in which the family operates. A Chinese-born father presents this point of view in his own language:

My son just like your son. Go to high school. Go to college. He talk good English. Try make me talk good English. I try make him talk good Chinese. Yes, Cantonese. No good. My people from China laugh at his Chinese. My boy good boy. He not understand our family in China. I not understand him. Maybe he right. Some our China boys go to American schools, marry China girls born in San Francisco and they fine people. Have good business. We sorry for them. They laugh at us. We go different restaurants, talk about it. It all right. America not China. Sometime I think my boy go back to China and marry. Hard to do. Bad law. Now I say marry who you please. American China girl all right. Some good. Some bad.²

To avoid confusion a clear distinction must be made between the primary group family and the so-called "family association" or clan. The functions of the former are roughly similar in Occidental and Chinese societies; the

² *Chinese Document File*, Stanford University, Number 22.

functions of the latter are vastly different. It is unfortunate that the same word is used for such divergent concepts. The clan is an organization of individuals having the same surname; the purpose is mutual aid and protection. Most of the Chinese in American Chinatowns come from twelve clans in Kwangtung province.

Every family unit in Vancouver has an organization. The strongest ones are the Lees and the Wongs. These family organizations are essential units of Chinatown. Every member of the organization looks to it for protection from injustice done to him by the Chinese or Canadians. . . . Troubles between members of different associations are often settled between their respective heads. They resort to the law courts only when they cannot reach an agreement. . . . These family associations are so powerful that all important undertakings in Chinatown either of a benevolent or patriotic nature have to seek their aid and approval.³

According to the traditional pattern, husband and wife must come from different clans and have different surnames. Since there are only about a hundred Chinese surnames this custom frequently creates a difficult situation. In only one case in the history of Seattle's Chinatown has a couple with the same surname been permitted to marry. In this case the young man had originally belonged to a different clan, but because his own clan was very weak in Seattle, he had changed his name. In another case the couple went to China to marry. In this, as in many other customs, the large cities of China are more progressive than American Chinatowns. "My mother would not permit me to have my hair bobbed, but my aunt in China had hers bobbed years ago."

An understanding of Chinese family life in America is difficult unless attention is given to the fact that the family fits in as a fundamental element in the whole pattern of social control developed in the New World. The basic structure of this self-government includes the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association with its branches in the larger cities, the district benevolent associations, the family associations, and the protective tongs. Only the last of these is primarily new. Around these basic institutions the Chinese have created a complex organized life involving a great number of clubs and societies. In this life the old tradition of deferring to the wishes of the elders is strengthened by the difficulty young Chinese experience in finding employment outside of the "Great Wall" and their consequent economic dependence on the older members of the clan. So far and no further will the elders go in granting the demands of youth.

We are especially concerned in this paper, however, with the diverse patterns of relationships within the primary group type of family in America. Although many of the old Chinese customs persist in the new situation, it is surprising that so much adjustment to family life as it exists in America has been made by the Chinese in so short a time. A careful

³ From an unpublished manuscript by T. Kong Lee entitled, "Institutions and Social Control in the Chinese Area of Vancouver." This manuscript was written in 1932 under the direction of Professor C. W. Topping at the University of British Columbia.

reading of the documentary evidence—interviews, life histories, court records, newspaper stories, community and family studies—indicates that the processes of adaptation of family form and function to the American environment have followed channels similar to those of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Old-world traits have been transplanted by both groups and the degree of adjustment for both has varied with the extent of contacts with Americans on the one hand and the character of the individuals involved on the other.

Among the agricultural peasants that have predominated in the migration to America from South China the traditional idea of a good husband is that of a good provider. He earns the money and he also spends it. He is expected to be kind and sympathetic, but if he is not, the wife must be tolerant and forbearing. A good wife in the ideology of the conservative Chinese of America spends very little money and raises as many children as possible—sons, not daughters. Nothing is more humiliating to the old fashioned China-born woman than her inability to give birth to a son. This idea is so deeply imbedded in the minds of some of the older generation that a sterile woman or one bearing two or three daughters in succession will consent to her husband's taking a concubine. It is interesting, however, that an occasional second wife, influenced by Occidental mores, has revolted against living with a first wife under the same roof.

In Vancouver, B. C., where the Chinatown of 8,000 is but half as old as the one in San Francisco, weddings of parents have generally been in China. In some cases wife Number One is in China and the woman in Canada is Number Two. This results in an anomaly. If the parents had to be married in the immigration offices before the lady was allowed to land, she is the legal wife according to Canadian law, and the Chinese wife at home is the legal wife by Chinese law.⁴

The old Chinese family system, which is still dominant in the villages of the interior and which lives on in the minds of the "old skulls" of American Chinatowns, is, of course, patriarchal. The oldest living male is, at least in theory, master of the household. In actual practice, where the mother of the oldest living male is still alive, her voice carries considerable weight. Her opinion is sought in domestic affairs, but her son represents the family in all social ceremonies. A son brings his wife home to live with his parents. Five generations under one roof is not unusual.

Chinese women of the older generation left their homes very little. One woman who went back to China two years ago had not been outside her home in America for fourteen years. She had bound feet, only three inches in length, and her hands shook from the effort of trying to walk. She had six children and much work to do at home. In Vancouver, Chinese women are breaking away from this custom of staying inside. They are visiting

⁴ Based on an unpublished manuscript prepared for this study by Miss Hilda Hellaby, who for twenty years has served as Anglican Missionary to the Chinese in Vancouver.

their friends who live near by and are attending such community functions as concerts given by the language schools. Until recently, however, the only regular excursions were monthly to Woodward's 95¢ days and to a small afternoon gossip group at the church.⁵

An American-born Chinese student writes as follows about his mother:

Born in the States, without the queue worn by other men in China and dressed in western garb, father must have presented a remarkable appearance at their wedding. He, of the newer school of Chinese; she, brought up with all the sternness which the true Chinese instills in his home. Despite her bound feet, my father took my mother everywhere during their first years. And, as she has often repeated not once was he ever harsh to her because of her slow gait.

Practical, mother is. Of even temperament, yet she did not spare the rod to spoil the child, as the seat of my breeches had often acknowledged. Every dollar must be stretched; and so, she would wrangle with every merchant for an advantage. And we must save. There is the future. Now that father is gone we often refer to her as the Empress Dowager. Today at 53, she is still the sturdy, far-seeing, frugal and conservative individual she was as a bride. And today at 53, she is the embodiment of ancient Cathay in appearance, demeanor and thought.

My mother sometimes weekly and other times bi-weekly, visits our closest friends, who bear the same surname as ours but are no relation according to the Western conception. Thus she keeps in contact with the Chinese community. Alien to the West and the Westernization of her children, it is her sole tie with Chinese culture.

One evidence of change in the Chinese-American family is the movement of homes outward from Chinatown. Maps showing the distribution of Chinese residences in Seattle twenty years ago and today show this outward trend. In Vancouver some of the more ambitious Chinese families have moved out of Chinatown into white middle-class residential areas. When they do this, a marked speeding up of the Westernizing process is to be seen in the children.

In the big towns and crowded cities of China where Occidental influences have done much in dislocating the conservatism of a family system that has lasted fifty centuries, the marriage ideals of the younger generation are similar to those in America, having caused them to break away from the large family system of their forefathers, and to establish small and exclusive families of their own based on love and equality.⁶ Kiang Kang-hu says: "The changes in Chinese life and ideas in the last fifty years have been more rapid than those of the preceding fifty centuries."⁷

The more conservative American-Chinese husbands are strikingly helpless in combating what they consider unfortunate tendencies on the part of their wives in the demand for education, freedom, self-expression and the right to appear in public, the revolt against drudgery, and the discard of traditional behavior in relations with other men. They seek to avoid these

⁵ For recent revolutionary changes in the role played by women in New York's large Chinatown, see *The New York Times* for April 11, 1937.

⁶ Based on an unpublished manuscript by Ch'eng K'un Cheng for some time a student at Yenching and at Amoi Universities.

⁷ "Chinese Family System," *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 152, Nov. 1930, 45.

troubles by delaying marriage, by ignoring even the limited opportunity to marry American-born girls and by allowing their own parents or Chinese community groups to "railroad" them into marriage in China. For reasons beyond the economic and legal difficulties involved, they fear to bring their wives to America.

The documentary evidence strongly suggests that the Chinese husband in America is not always the "boss." He is characteristically puzzled and disillusioned but tries to be reasonable and make the best of a difficult situation. He gradually sees the virtues of the American pattern of relationship between husbands and wives. He also sees the weaknesses. He has a democratic attitudes toward the status of the wife.

Wives of Chinese living in America, if born and educated in this country, demand and get a position approximating the American pattern. Its achievement is at the price of some lack of rapport and content. If the wife is married in China and comes over to America at once, she is shocked by the attitude of American-born Chinese. In recent times, this shock has been of two types. To some extent she has the feeling that American Chinese, and women in particular, have stood still or lagged while their sisters in China have been progressing. The Cantonese, especially, feel that way. But the newly arrived wife is also shocked at the superficial conduct of the flapper type and misunderstands the symptoms. She shows a tendency to accommodate herself, however, and approximates the American example rather rapidly. The wife left in China who eventually comes to America tends to be dominated by interest in her children and in the family and community group in China. She rarely functions completely as a wife and mother according to the American pattern.

In the relations between parents and children, the old-fashioned Chinese father occupies the seat of authority and expects to be obeyed. The remarkable thing is the extent to which he is obeyed. As already suggested maternal dominance is often true in practice, if not in theory.

Ching-yueh Yen has pointed out very clearly this fundamental difference between the old Chinese *li* and American mores:

In the United States, juvenile delinquency plays an alarming role in the field of criminality, but in the Chinese cities it is not a problem, except perhaps in Shanghai, which follows the Western industrial and commercial city pattern. No reformatory is to be found throughout the length and breadth of the whole country.

In order to find an adequate explanation of the absence of juvenile delinquency in China one has to go back to the deeply rooted age-long tradition of filial piety, which is the living expression of the central law of the family system—ancestor worship. Obedience to his parents is regarded as the highest virtue a person can possess. In every-day Chinese home life the degree of obedience which is expected by parents, and unquestionably given by children, even long after maturity, is one of the aspects of life in China which Westerners find most difficult to understand.⁸

⁸ "Crime in Relation to Social Change in China," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 40, Nov, 1934, 303-304.

Low rates for juvenile delinquency continue in America. Studies of the Atkinson grade school district in Portland, of the Bailey-Gatzert district in Seattle and of the Strathcona district in Vancouver, in which the percentage of Oriental children varies from 91 to 70, show rates for boy delinquency markedly below those in adjacent areas. In an unpublished study of "The Oriental Delinquent in Court" Judge Helen Gregory MacGill of the Vancouver Juvenile Court found that during the ten-year period from 1926 to 1935 the rate for white juvenile delinquency in the city of Vancouver was thirteen times as great as that for Orientals. A roughly comparable study in Seattle, where the Oriental children are more Americanized, showed a white delinquency rate only three times as great. Although the rate for Chinese children was a little higher than for Japanese in both of these studies, it was still well below the rate for whites. The close integration of the Chinese family and the desire to maintain a good reputation in the American community are important factors in accounting for both the low rate and the triviality of most of the offenses.

In general the longer and the more completely that a Chinese family is thrown among Americans and the more isolated it is from the influences of the homeland, the more radical are the departures from traditional Chinese ways. A China-born father usually believes that it is his duty to discipline and control his children; the American-born generation believe in freedom and independence. Relations between parents and children tend to change as the years go by and the children tend to have an increasing voice in family affairs. English is used more frequently in the home. Except for the evening meal of rice, which has become a widespread folkway among Chinese Americans, food tends to become American. One type of adjustment between parents and children is described by a third generation daughter, aged nineteen:

We conform to many of the Chinese customs in little things, such as serving tea with two hands on the cup or saucer, respecting all people older than ourselves, taking small steps and not being boisterous, using certain phrases at certain times; but in the larger things, such as marriage and divorce and in the treatment of our own children, we young people refuse to conform.

Conservative Chinese believe in parental choice of marriage partners with the aid of a go-between; the second generation insists on individual choice. "Only last week," writes Miss Hellaby, "the father of a family that had been on relief for a long time came in to say that this assistance would not longer be needed. When asked if he had obtained employment, he said no, but that a marriage had been arranged for his eldest daughter and the money paid by the groom would maintain them for some time. In other cases, the new custom prevails completely and the young people choose their own partners. These are not always very successful—they soon learn they are not living within the pages of a movie magazine. Yet other marriages partake of both customs—the choice of the young being approved by the elders, or vice versa. Some of the weddings are entirely according to Chinese custom and there is no marriage license; others are entirely Western style; occasionally a Canadian civil or religious wedding is combined with Chinese customs."

A student, aged sixteen, wrote of his family organization as follows:

The control of the family is naturally in the hands of our mother (father has passed away). In spite of all that has been said about us being completely Westernized, filial piety is still in our blood. Next in line of control is my elder sister. She being the eldest should have control over me but I being the boy and being stronger pull myself up to level with her. And so we're both equal. Next comes my second sister who is younger than I am. She in turn controls the youngest girl over whom all of us have control.

The conflicts are most numerous between I and my elder sister, F. She, after a hard day at the factory and I, after a hard day at the University, often come home in not a very good humour. A slight noise which annoys me in my studies would easily set me into a rage and make me want to kick everyone to keep him silent. An offense to her would easily make her angry. And when two person in the house is full of dynamite, trouble comes easily.

Conflict also occurs between my sister and my mother. F., not having learnt the power of reasoning, tries to imitate blindly the ways of Hollywood. She say she would do such and such a thing (go to a dance for instance) which is conflicting with my mother's ideas of decency. Mother then scolds her and says that she's crazy. Mother, a simple illiterate peasant, would often say something insulting, not realizing it. Then F., rather quick-tempered and unreasonable, talks back. This starts a train of words back and forth. It usually ends by one of them going to bed.

Chinese children born and educated in America develop attitudes very similar to those of native-born children of European immigrant parents and not basically different from those of the older native stock. These attitudes, as in the case cited above, come into conflict with those of the parents. The nature of the conflict varies according to the individuals concerned; it also varies with the background of the parents. The fathers may have left China before many of the recent social changes occurred, or they may have come from China recently. Some of them, of course, are American-born. The mothers may be American-born, or they may have remained in China during the early years of the children's lives. In other cases they may have come to America as brides. These cases now, are the wives of merchants or other admissible, non-immigrant classes. The children tend, however, to be more nearly like Americans in their manners and codes than are their parents. The prestige of the parents is weakened. The children generalize and conclude that the judgment of the parents must be at fault in all matters. The usual clash of age and youth is intensified.

At the same time the racial-cultural barriers cutting Chinese young people off from a full membership in American society operate to throw them back upon their own people. These barriers revive and nourish pride in their own culture. The Chinese never felt that their culture was inferior and the prejudice of the Occidental tends to preserve their solidarity. The divergence between youth and parents or youth and the heads of family associations might be much greater and have more lasting effects, if it were not for this consciousness of being members of a small racial minority.

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF AMERICAN FAMILIES

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Introduction. The decrease in the size of the American family is not of recent origin, but dates back more than a century in the history of our country. In 1790,¹ when the first census was taken, the average American family consisted of 5.7 members. In 1850 it averaged 5.6 members; by 1900 the average family had decreased to 4.7 persons, and by 1930 to 4.1 members. The continuous decline, occurring at an increasing rate, may be seen from the census figures below for each decade:²

Year	Persons per Family	Year	Persons per Family
1790	5.7 ³	1890	4.9
1850	5.6 ³	1900	4.7
1860	5.3 ³	1910	4.5
1870	5.1	1920	4.3
1880	5.0	1930	4.1

Even more striking than the reduction in average size is the change in the proportions of the extremely large and very small families. There were proportionately five times as many families with ten or more members in 1790 as in 1930. At the time of the first census, almost one in every ten families consisted of ten or more members, while today less than one in fifty is this large. The small family of one or two members is almost three times as prevalent today, proportionately, as it was in 1790. At that time, 11.5 percent of all families consisted of one or two persons, while in 1930, 31.3 percent were this small. The shift toward small families may be noted in the table below:

Size of Family 1930—U.S. as a Whole. With the publication of the 1930 U.S. Census volume on *Families*, the framework for a quantitative description of the American family was provided. Social scientists have as yet barely tapped this source, so the authors believe that a summary of the basic findings may throw light on a number of problems concerning the family as well as suggest questions for research.

The remainder of this article will deal with variations in family size and composition as between different sections of the nation, between rural and urban areas, among various racial and nativity groups, and among a number of other social and economic classes. The material is drawn from three sources: the U.S. 1930 Census volume on *Families*, the *New Haven Random*

¹ *A Century of Population Growth—from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900.* U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1909, p. 96.

² Figures from 1850-1920 from *Fourteenth Census 1920, Population*, Vol. II, p. 1266.

³ *A Century of Population Growth*, Table 28, p. 98.

NUMBER OF PERSONS PER PRIVATE FAMILY IN CONTINENTAL U.S.

Proportion of Families Having Specified Number of Persons

Number of Persons	1790 ³	1900 ³	1930 ⁴
1	3.7%	5.1%	7.9%
2	7.8	15.0	23.4
3	11.7	17.6	20.8
4	13.8	16.9	17.5
5	13.9	14.2	12.0
6	13.2	10.9	7.6
7	11.2	7.7	4.7
8	9.0	5.2	2.8
9	6.5	3.2	1.6
10	4.2	1.9	0.9
11 and over	4.9	2.2	0.9

Sample Survey,⁵ which obtained social and economic characteristics not shown in the census, and the *Urban Study of Consumer Purchases*,⁶ in which families are classified according to the composition or relationship of members.

U.S. 1930 CENSUS DATA

Statistics on family size are to some extent a function of the definition used for the term "family." If only related individuals are considered as family members, the median size of the American family in 1930 was 3.40 persons.⁷

The modal type, however, representing 23.4 percent of the total families, consists of two persons only. These represent newly married individuals, childless couples, or remnants of larger families. Data from the two surveys referred to above indicate that the two-person household represents a husband-wife relationship in the majority of cases.

Second in order of prevalence comes the three-person family, comprising

⁴ *Fifteenth Census of the United States 1930, Population*, Vol. VI, *Families*, p. 7.

⁵ "A Random Sample Survey of 2000 Families," conducted under the auspices of the Yale Institute of Human Relations, May-June 1933.

⁶ An investigation carried on by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, in co-operation with the National Resources Committee, the Central Statistical Board, the Bureau of Home Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the Works Progress Administration, 1935-1936.

⁷ The 1930 Census defines the family as "a group of persons related either by blood, marriage, or adoption, who live together as one household usually sharing the same table. Persons maintaining single-person households are counted as families, however, as are a few small groups of unrelated persons sharing the same living accommodations as 'partners.' Households reporting more than ten lodgers are classified as boarding or lodging houses, not families. Two or more related persons occupying permanent quarters in a hotel are counted as a private family rather than as part of hotel groups." *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population*, Vol. VI, *Families*, pp. 5-6. When reckoning the size of families, the Census includes only groups of related persons, omitting such non-consanguineal household components as lodgers, resident servants, guests, foster children and wards. In the case of partner householders, one person is selected, more or less arbitrarily, as the family head; the other members are counted as lodgers.

slightly more than one-fifth (20.8 percent) of all families. Analysis of family composition indicates that in slightly more than half of such cases the family consists of two parents and one child.

Large families of six or more individuals constitute 18.5 percent of all families. Most of these fall within the six- to nine-member category, with less than 2 percent of all families containing ten or more persons.

Census returns reveal the fallacy of the "typical family of two adults and three children" in America. Only one-eighth of the families in the United States contain five persons, and of such families a still smaller percentage is composed of two parents and three children. Although there is an average of four persons in American families, households of this size actually include only 17.5 percent of all families.

One in twelve households (7.8 percent) is composed of only one person. While these single-person families tend to concentrate in cities, a significant number of them live in rural-nonfarm areas.

Number of Children per Family in the United States. The decline in the birth rate during the past decade is reflected in the exceedingly large number of families without young children. Well over half (58.8 percent)⁸ of all the families in the United States have no children under ten years of age. No less than 38.8 percent of the families—that is, one in every three families—is comprised entirely of persons over 21 years of age.

Almost one-fifth (19.2 percent) of the families in the United States have only one child under ten years of age; 11.8 percent have two children; 6 percent have three children; while 4.1 percent have four or more children under ten. Since the census definition of family includes all related persons living in the household, this count obviously represents some "doubled" families. Thus there would be even fewer children per married couple if such a count were available.

Prolific parents have not disappeared entirely, however; witness the enumeration of 1,331,842 families with six or more children under 21 years of age. Even if "doubled" families were excluded from this group, the number would probably still exceed one million.

Regional Differences in Size of Family. Examination of the census data reveals significant differences in family size in the various sections of the United States; these variations, it will be seen, are to a considerable degree a function of racial and nativity differences occurring in different regions. The largest families prevail in the South Atlantic States—with a median size of 3.76 persons; the smallest in the Pacific area—with a median of 2.83 persons. Family size in the other seven census regions falls in between these two extremes (see Table I).

Similar regional differences occur in the frequency of large and small families. Slightly more than one-fourth of the families in the South Atlantic

⁸ *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population, Vol. VI, Families, p. 8.*

TABLE I. MEDIAN SIZE OF URBAN, RURAL-FARM AND RURAL-NONFARM FAMILIES BY COLOR AND NATIVITY OF HEAD,
AND REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES*

	Total Fami- lies	All Nativity Groups			Native White			Foreign Born White			Negro		
		Ur- ban	Rural- Farm	Rural- Non- Farm	Total	Ur- ban	Rural- Farm	Rural- Non- Farm	Total	Ur- ban	Rural- Farm	Rural- Non- Farm	
United States	3.40	3.26	4.02	3.28	3.34	3.15	4.00	3.30	3.74	3.76	4.02	3.32	2.96
New England ¹	3.39	3.44	3.45	3.15	3.12	3.15	3.28	2.99	3.95	3.97	4.27	3.76	3.08
Middle Atlantic ²	3.43	3.42	3.71	3.38	3.22	3.17	3.61	3.25	3.97	3.95	4.40	4.17	3.01
E. No. Central ³	3.32	3.27	3.75	3.11	3.24	3.16	3.73	3.11	3.71	3.74	3.99	3.14	2.76
W. No. Central ⁴	3.34	3.14	3.91	3.02	3.35	3.13	3.86	3.10	3.44	3.36	4.25	2.51	2.57
South Atlantic ⁵	3.76	3.28	4.56	3.66	3.84	3.40	4.52	3.80	3.77	3.80	3.47	3.69	3.18
E. So. Central ⁶	3.69	3.22	4.15	3.52	3.90	3.45	4.30	3.75	3.57	3.60	3.67	3.37	2.79
W. So. Central ⁷	3.57	3.23	4.14	3.38	3.64	3.28	4.22	3.47	3.56	3.46	4.20	2.88	2.72
Mountain ⁸	3.33	3.13	3.86	3.23	3.31	3.12	3.80	3.23	3.18	3.14	3.74	2.82	2.07
Pacific ⁹	2.83	2.75	3.31	2.87	2.77	2.67	3.24	2.88	2.91	2.90	3.34	2.64	2.19

 * *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Vol. VI, Families, Table 44, p. 37.*

¹ New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut; ² Middle Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; ³ E. No. Central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin; ⁴ W. No. Central: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas; ⁵ South Atlantic: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, Florida; ⁶ E. So. Central: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi; ⁷ W. So. Central: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas; ⁸ Mountain: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada; ⁹ Pacific: Washington, Oregon, California.

States consist of one or two persons, while more than two-fifths of the Pacific Coast families fall into this category. On the other hand, over one-third of the families in the former region contain five or more persons, while less than one-fifth of the families in the latter area have this many members.

Marked regional variations appear also in the proportion of families having children,⁹ as well as in the number of children per family. The South Atlantic and the Pacific regions again assume extreme positions (48.3 percent and 31.5 percent respectively having children under 10 years), with the other seven regions falling in between. Large families, containing four or more children under 10 years of age, are three times as frequent (proportionately) in the South Atlantic area, where they comprise 7 percent of all families, as in the Pacific region. The number of families with four or more children under 21 is also correspondingly greater in the South Atlantic area.

Urban¹⁰ and Rural Differences in Size of Families. A marked relationship exists between degree of urbanization and size of family. The largest families in the entire country occur in the rural-farm areas, the smallest in urban centers. While the median size of all families in the United States is 3.40, the corresponding figure for the rural-farm families is 4.02, for rural-nonfarm, 3.28, and for urban, 3.26. As is to be expected from our previous findings, if we disregard the nativity and racial factor, rural families in the South Atlantic States exceed in size all other rural families in America, while the smallest rural families live in the Pacific area. Urban families are largest, on the average, in the New England, Middle and South Atlantic areas, and smallest in the Mountain and Pacific regions.

Urban-rural comparisons of families of specified sizes reveal similar differences. Families comprising six or more individuals constitute 29 percent of all rural-farm families, but only about half that proportion of urban families (15 percent).

An exception to the generalization that urban families are smaller than rural-nonfarm families is found in the case of one-person families. These lone householders comprise 5 percent of the rural-farm families, 10 percent of the rural-nonfarm residents, and 8 percent of urban families. The rural-nonfarm residents probably represent a significant number of retired farmers, and widows of farmers who have moved to villages near their former homes. Unattached miners also are relatively frequent in the rural-nonfarm areas of America.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁰ The urban population is defined as that living in cities or other incorporated places having 2,500 or more inhabitants. "The rural-farm population includes all persons living on farms in rural areas. The rural-nonfarm or 'village' population is made up largely of persons living in small towns or villages, both incorporated and unincorporated, although in many areas there are considerable numbers of families living in the open country but not on farms." *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Race and Nativity Differences in Family Size. Significant differences in family size appear between the several nativity and racial groups. The "other races"¹¹ constitute only 1.3 percent of all families in the United States, and since census data concerning them are scanty, it must suffice here merely to point out that the median size of these families is 4.13, which exceeds that of all other nativity and color groups. This small group is excluded from the remainder of the discussion. Among the other nativity groups, foreign-born whites have, on the average, the largest families (3.74 median), Negroes have the smallest (3.15 median), while native whites occupy a mid-position (3.34 median). The popular impression that Negro families are large is not borne out by these census figures.

The size of the family varies considerably in the different sections of the country, as well as between urban and rural areas. Of the foreign-born white families the largest median size is found in the Middle Atlantic (3.97 median) and New England (3.95 median) regions, while the smallest (2.91 median) is found in the Pacific area. Despite their small average size relative to foreign-born families in other areas of the country, the largest families in the Pacific States are those headed by foreign-born whites.

The largest average size of Negro families is found in the South Atlantic area, particularly in the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm districts, the median being 3.48 persons; while the smallest Negro families (2.18 median) live in the Mountain region.

In the East South Central States the native-white families are the largest (3.90 median) in the country, exceeding by far the median for the entire country. The South Atlantic States follow closely, native-white families reaching a median of 3.84 persons, while the smallest families of this nativity group occur in the Middle Atlantic (3.22 median), New England (3.12 median), and Pacific (2.77 median) regions.

In urban areas alone, the foreign-born whites in each region have larger families than do the native whites, who in turn have larger families than do the Negroes. In the rural-farm and rural-non-farm areas, on the other hand, the nativity groups do not show any such consistency in rank order of average size in the various regions.

The large median family size among the foreign-born whites and the relatively small median size among Negroes is reflected in the proportion of families of specified sizes. For the total United States, Negroes have a larger proportion of one-person families than do any of the other nativity or color groups, while native whites have the smallest of all. One in every eight Negro families is comprised of only one member, while one in thirteen white families consists of only one person. Nineteen percent of all families of all nativity groups combined are composed of six or more persons. Viewed separately, however, significant differences appear between the several

¹¹ Principally Japanese and Mexicans.

groups; almost one-fourth of the families of foreign-born heads have at least six persons; approximately one-fifth of the Negroes and only one-sixth of the native whites have such large families.

Differences in Family Size of Home Owners and Tenants. Home-owning families are larger, on the average, than are renting families, the median size of the former being 3.49 persons, that of the latter, 3.35. This difference also obtains among owners and renters of each color and nativity group. The greatest contrast between these two home-tenure groups occurs among foreign-white families, among which home owners average 3.94 persons, as compared with a median of 3.56 persons for renters.

If the degree of urbanization is taken into account, the above differences either disappear or are reduced. Tenants have larger families than home owners in rural districts, whereas renting families are smaller in urban centers. For Negroes, however, home owners, even in rural districts, have larger families than do renters.

SIZE OF FAMILY IN SPECIFIED SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.¹²

Country of Birth of Head. The analysis of census data reveals that families of foreign-born heads are larger than are those of native-born Americans, but that marked variation in size appears among the foreign-born in different sections of the country. If the New Haven findings are indicative, these regional differences may be ascribed largely to the differences in the nationality groups which predominate in the various sections of the country.

As may be seen in Table II, the various nationality groups show marked differences in family size. Italians have the largest families, 45 percent consisting of six persons or more. The Polish group ranks second, with two-fifths of the families consisting of six or more members. The other nationality groups lag far behind in the proportion of large families. Thirty-two percent of the Russians, 18 percent of the Irish, 14 percent of the English, Scotch, and Canadians, and only 6 percent of the Germans have families of six or more members. These figures go far to explain the relatively small size of foreign families in the Pacific region, where a large number of Germans reside. They also account for the comparatively large foreign families in the East Atlantic area of the United States where a high proportion of Italians, Poles and Russians live.

The opposite situation obtains with respect to the frequency of small families. Families of one or two persons represent more than 41 percent of the German families, while they comprise only 10 percent of the Italian families.

¹² These data were obtained from personnel interviews of a random sample of 2,000 families in New Haven, Connecticut. See *A Handbook of Social Statistics of New Haven, Connecticut*, compiled by Thelma A. Dreis, published for the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University Press, 1936.

*Religion of Head.*¹³ In view of the attitude taken by various churches toward the question of family limitation, differences in family size might be expected among the various religious groups. Since religion is associated with nationality, however, which in turn is correlated with economic status, it is impossible, from the material at hand, to determine the extent to which differences in family size among various religious groups may be attributed to religion alone, or to one or both of the other factors correlated with it. Striking differences in the family size of the major religious groups may be noted in Table II. Catholics have the largest families, Jewish families next largest, while Protestants have the smallest families of these three groups. The group designated as "other" includes those who stated no preference, agnostics, and atheists. Families of six or more persons are proportionately two and one-half times as frequent among the Catholics as among the Protestants (28.1 percent as compared with 11.0 percent). Small families of one or two persons represent 46 percent of the "other" or "no religion" group, one-third of the Protestant families, and only about one-sixth of the Jewish and Catholic families.

Monthly rent. We observed in the analysis of the census data that home owners had larger families than did renters. A classification of New Haven renters by the amount of rent paid reveals a definite inverse relationship between large families and amount of rent. Twenty-three percent of the families paying less than fifteen dollars per month have six or more members, while at the other extreme only 9 percent of the families paying fifty dollars or more per month consist of such large families. For the smallest families this relationship does not obtain, since slightly over one-third of the families at each rental extreme consist of one or two members.

The apparent relationship between large families and amount of rent may be attributed to other factors. Richard Lang, for example, found that if the influence of educational status were removed, the correlation between the percent of large families in each rental group and the amount of rent was very small ($r = -.22$)¹⁴

Income Groups. Most students of population are concerned with the problem of differential fertility of the various strata of the population. Insofar as a static picture of family size gives a rough indication of fertility, the comparison of family size of different income groups is pertinent. A distinct inverse relationship between the size of family and amount of income seems to be lacking in the New Haven data. Both the extremes of large and small families constitute greater proportions of the low income groups than they do of the higher, with one exception. The proportion of large families of six or more persons decreases steadily from 23 percent of the total in the income groups under \$1,000 to 16 percent of the families

¹³ The stated religious preference of the head provides the basis for this classification. Church membership, attendance or participation are not taken into account.

¹⁴ "Population Characteristics Associated with Educational Levels and Economic Status in Chicago," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 2, April 1937, 192.

TABLE II. PROPORTION OF FAMILIES OF SPECIFIED SIZES AMONG VARIOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.
(Random Sample Survey—1933)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	United States	Italy	Poland	Russia	Ireland	England Scotland Canada	Germany	Other
1-2 persons	28.5%	10.0%	18.5%	11.0%	23.8%	28.6%	41.7%	17.5%
3-5 persons	58.8	45.4	41.5	66.9	58.4	57.2	52.0	62.9
6 persons and over	12.7	44.6	40.0	22.1	17.8	14.2	6.3	19.6
RELIGION								
1-2 persons	Catholic	Jewish	Protestant	Other				
3-5 persons	17.1%	15.6%	33.9%	46.4%				
6 persons and over	54.8	65.8	55.1	46.3				
MONTHLY RENT								
1-2 persons	28.1	18.6	11.0	7.3				
3-5 persons	Under \$15	\$15-19	\$20-29	\$30-49	\$50 and over			
6 persons and over	35.1%	21.3%	18.0%	29.4%	37.6%			
INCOME OF FAMILY								
1-2 persons	42.1	56.9	61.0	57.4	53.7			
3-5 persons	22.8	21.8	21.0	13.2	8.7			
6 persons and over	Under \$1000	\$1000-1499	\$1500-1999	\$2000-2999	\$3000-4999	\$5000 and over		
1-2 persons	24.1%	20.0%	23.2%	22.5%	22.7%	14.4%		
3-5 persons	52.9	58.2	57.7	58.7	61.3	63.2		
6 persons and over	23.0	21.8	19.1	18.8	16.0	22.4		
OCCUPATION OF HEAD								
1-2 persons	Professional	Managerial	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
3-5 persons	40.6%	19.0%	28.1%	17.4%	16.5%	18.7%		
6 persons and over	50.4	59.2	60.2	57.1	60.7	48.9		
EDUCATION OF HEAD								
1-2 persons	4th gr. or less	5th-8th grade	High School	College				
3-5 persons	14.4%	21.0%	30.2%	32.1%				
6 persons and over	45.0	60.3	56.5	55.2				
AGE OF HEAD								
1-2 persons	Under 30 yrs.	30-39 yrs.	40-49 yrs.	50-59 yrs.	60 yrs. and over			
3-5 persons	27.6%	19.4%	15.5%	21.2%	38.3%			
6 persons and over	67.1	65.2	51.3	53.8	49.0			
	5.3	15.4	33.2	25.0	12.7			

at the \$4,000 to \$5,000 income level. In the highest income group, however, of \$5,000 and over, large families are as frequent (proportionately) as at the lowest income levels. Results of the Urban Study of Consumer Purchases explain the presence of large families at the upper income levels on the basis of multiple earners who contributed to the family income.

Families of one or two persons comprise between one-fourth and one-fifth of all income groups except for the group over \$5,000, of which they comprise only 14 percent (see Table II).

Occupation of Head. Approximately one-third of the families of unskilled laborers have families consisting of six or more persons. Such families are also rather frequent in the semi-skilled and skilled occupations, where they comprise about one-fourth of all families. Business managers and proprietors have families of this size in only about one-fifth of the cases. Among clerical and kindred workers, as among the professional groups, large families are relatively infrequent.

The opposite situation obtains with respect to small families of one or two persons. Such cases comprise two-fifths of the professional families as contrasted with less than one-fifth of the unskilled workers. The clerical group falls between the professional and unskilled, with 28 percent of the families having less than three persons. Proprietors and managers resemble the unskilled workers in this respect, 19 percent of their families consisting of one or two persons. This is probably due to the presence in the proprietor group of a large number of foreign-born storekeepers, whose cultural traits more closely resemble those of wage earners than those of clerical or professional persons.

Education of Head. There appears to be a definite inverse relation between size of family and the amount of formal education received by the head of the family. Large families of six or more persons constitute 40 percent of the families in which the head had less than four years of schooling, 19 percent of those in which the head attended high school, and only 13 percent of the families in which the head went to college.

On the other hand, small families of one or two persons comprise an increasing proportion of the total as the amount of education of the head increases, the percentage rising from about 14 at the lowest education level to 32 at the highest. This finding is in keeping with that of Richard O. Lang.¹⁵ When he related the educational status of heads of families in Chicago to the percentage of families of five or more persons, he found a correlation of $-.70$. A pronounced inverse relationship held true even when economic status (as measured by rentals) was held constant.

Age of Head. The largest families belong to heads who are between 40 and 49 years old. One-third of the families of persons in this age group contain six or more members. At the age group 50 to 59, 25 percent of the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 187-194.

families have six or more members; at 60 or over, less than 13 percent. For heads under 30 years only 5.3 percent of the families are this large.

The reverse situation is revealed when small families of less than three are considered. The 40 to 49 age group had the smallest proportion of such families, while the age groups over 60 have the greatest proportion, with the under 30 group falling in between these two extremes. Among young age groups these small families generally represent incomplete newly established families, in the older groups they are often remnants of large households which have begun to disintegrate.

FAMILY COMPOSITION IN FIVE CITIES

The realization on the part of some scientists that family composition is not adequately described in terms of number of persons alone has resulted in numerous attempts to classify families into types, taking into account such factors as the relationship of family members, the number of dependents in the family as measured by the number of children under 16, and the economic interdependence of the persons, i.e., whether or not they pool their incomes or share expenses. The definitions used have not been uniform, chiefly because they were devised to throw light on specific problems in which a particular emphasis was desired. As a result the data on family composition are quite fragmentary and often not comparable.¹⁶

A recent nation-wide survey of the income and expenditures of American families¹⁷ will make available a considerable volume of data on family composition. This study classifies the families into three main groups: those which include both a husband and a wife, those without a married couple, and one-person economic units. Within each of the first two groups, families are further classified so as to differentiate between those with children but no adults in addition to the parents, and those with other adults in the family. When the study is completed, data on these family types will be available for the various occupational and income groups in each of the communities surveyed.

Although family composition varies somewhat from city to city, preliminary releases on a number of cities indicate that, in general, families containing both a husband and wife comprise about three-fourths of all families.

A special tabulation of the data for five large cities in different sections of the U.S. reveals certain similarities as well as some significant differences in the proportion of various family types (see Table III). Between one-fourth and one-sixth of all families in these cities consist of only a husband and a wife. This is the "typical" family in that it occurs more fre-

¹⁶ For a more detailed treatment of family composition see "A Statistical Analysis of the Modern Family," by Mildred Parten, *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 160, March 1932, 29-37.

¹⁷ *The Study of Consumer Purchases*, conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in urban places and by the Bureau of Home Economics in some small cities, villages, and rural areas, covered more than 300,000 families in over 45 cities, 135 villages and 22 farm areas.

quently than any other single type. It is a conglomerate group, however, since it includes families of all age groups, ranging from young newlyweds to aged parents whose children have departed. Families with young children, on the other hand, are usually limited to those with wives in or near the childbearing age.

TABLE III. COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES IN FIVE CITIES¹⁸

Family Composition	Percent of All Families in Each Type ¹⁹				
	Portland Ore.	Denver Colo.	Providence R.I.	Atlanta Ga.	Columbus Ohio
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Husband and wife only	26	22	18	19	24
Husband, wife and 1 child under 16 and no other persons	12	11	10	11	11
Husband, wife and 2 children and no other persons	7	8	9	6	7
Husband, wife and 3 or 4 children and no other persons	3	5	7	5	5
All other families containing both husband and wife with other persons	27	25	34	29	29
Single individuals and families without a married couple	25	29	22	30	24

Families consisting of a married couple with one child under 16 years and no other persons in the economic family represent slightly over one-tenth of all families. The two-child family comprises from 6 to 9 percent of all households, while families with three or four children under 16 years represent only from 3 to 7 percent of all families. Families with both adults and children in addition to the married couple constitute between one-fourth and one-third of all families. Such cases represent multiple-earner families as well as families with dependent relatives.

The recent increase in partner-households, the growing number of lone householders, as well as the increase in the divorce rate, all result in a great number of families or households in which there is no married couple. In the above cities, from 22 to 30 percent of the households are so constituted. If the lone householder is included, approximately 17 percent of all families lack a married pair.

To conclude, the above discussion has indicated that the modern American family varies both in size and in composition in different social and economic groups throughout the country. The family is a conglomeration of individuals, often lacking children or a married pair and frequently containing a number of persons in addition to the parents and children.

¹⁸ Data obtained from a special analysis of material collected in 1936 by the Urban Study of Consumer Purchases, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

¹⁹ Based on a random sample comprising 20 percent of the families in Denver, 40 percent in Portland and Columbus, and 50 percent in Providence and Atlanta.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF WOMEN AND THE FAMILY IN GERMANY

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IF, AS SOME THINK, economic and social forces are driving the world to a grim choice between Communism and Fascism it is important to consider the status of women and family life in the new Germany. There is theoretical interest in the possibility that the totalitarian state with its absolute control of propaganda agencies might provide a less ambiguous "definition of the situation" in regard to marriage.¹ Of interest too is the conflict between patriarchal theory and economic trends. Furthermore, do the changes justify the Nazis in their claim to have solved the woman problem? For the sake of clarity of discussion the present writer would arbitrarily define the "woman problem" as the lack of balance between the unique reproductive function of woman and her work function, so complicated by individual differences and diversity of public opinion that there is confusion and unhappiness for herself and for other members of her group.

There is good evidence that women, in spite of constituting only three percent of the total party membership, lent powerful support to a movement that seemed to have little to offer them. There was an increased share of women in the N.S. vote from 1928 to 1932 and in the latter year apparently about half of the N.S. votes were from women.² The salve which the movement provided for hurt national pride was soothing to women as well as men. Almost two million women were deprived of husbands by the war. It was not hard to convert the daydreams of a hard-working woman to a belief that she would be rescued by a blond S. A. hero and carried off to a comfortable home and children. Nazi propaganda is filled with appeals to mother love and to romanticism. A confidential bulletin to women leaders gives directions for winning converts among women which include showing pictures of Hitler and talking about his great deeds.³ Women experienced a great longing for simplicity that made them turn deaf ears to the cool intellectual warnings from the leaders of the woman's movement.⁴ For the simple mothers attracted to National Socialism the older woman's movement was too "high brow." For the fiery young girls, the old leaders were dreary spinsters with an aura of the war defeat about them. The deep

¹ C. Kirkpatrick, "Ethical Inconsistency in Marriage," *Internat. Jour. Ethics*, 46, July 1936, 445-446.

² Werner Stephan, "Wie wählen die Frauen?," *Die Frau*, 40, Nov. 1932.

³ "Informationsdienst (Folge 23 ff. Amtswalterinnenblatt) der N. S. Frauenschaft," München, 1933, p. 62.

⁴ Amalie Laüer, *Die Frau in der Auffassung des National-sozialismus*, Köln, 1932.

yearning for simplicity has implications not alone for Germany but for Western Civilization.

In the beginning women played a humble part. They were denied uniforms and merely cooked, nursed and supplied applause for the marching men. The first National Socialist woman's group was the *Frauenorden* established in 1926. This was replaced in October 1931 by the *Frauenschaft*. Shortly after the seizure of power this group came under the leadership of Lydia Gottschewski who had no love for the older woman's movement and was eager for the *Gleichschaltung* of the women's organizations.⁵ The plan was either to dissolve the older women's organizations or to bring them into a federation (*Frauenfront*) under the leadership of the N.S. *Frauenschaft*.⁶ The previously cited confidential bulletin which the writer was fortunate enough to see contains revealing directions for the appointing of leaders, forcing new elections, capturing chairmanships, the seizing of books and funds. In general the technic was either to capture an organization from the inside and bring it into the fold or else to force its dissolution. Some groups joined the *Frauenfront*, others such as the great *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* dissolved voluntarily to save their funds. Others such as the *Akademikerinnenbund* were so purged or so deserted by members that little more than the name was captured. By the fall of 1933 the victory was complete.

In spite of this victory much confusion and bitterness remained. A national work committee was established but came into opposition with the *Frauenfront*. To solve this problem both organizations were dissolved in the fall and replaced by the federal organization (*Frauenwerk*) under the control of the *Frauenschaft* led by Dr. Krummacher, with Frau Siber as *Führerin*. Meanwhile a militant woman's rights group rose among the National Socialist women led by Frau Sophie Rogge-Börner which issued a pamphlet entitled "German Women to Adolph Hitler," recalling the share of the leadership of the Nordic women and making pointed remarks about the Jewishness of restricting woman's sphere.⁷ On such troubled waters oil was poured by Frau Siber, who paid tribute to the achievements of the woman's movement and called for co-operation in a common cause.⁸

To end the confusion Frau Scholtz-Klink was appointed woman leader (*Reichsfrauenführerin*) in February 1934. Opinions differ as to the amount of actual power in the hands of women under this arrangement. For some persons, she is a living rebuke to those that doubt that women have an influence on public affairs in Germany. For others she is either a shrewd politician bent on winning back influence for women by gentle guile or is

⁵ Lydia Gottschewski, *Männerbund und Frauenfrage*, München, J. F. Lehman, 1934.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Irmgard, Reichenau, *Deutsche Frauen an Adolf Hitler*, Leipzig, Adolf Klein Verlag, 1933.

⁸ Theodore Eichhoff, "Frauenwirken am Wiederaufbau Deutschlands," *Soziale Praxis*, 42, 1933, 1426-28.

a propaganda tool to hold the women in line to serve the ends of the masculine Nazi leadership. Under her leadership the National Socialist women held out the olive branch to the women of the older movement.⁹ An attempt was also made to bring professional women back into the fold.¹⁰

The organization of women in the Third Reich is naturally thorough. The power is in the hands of the N.S. *Frauenschaft*, an organization of some two million members made up of the more reliable National Socialists. The *Frauenschaft* is regarded as a member of the *Frauenwerk*, which includes some seventeen national women's organizations, some of which carried over from the old regime, although often in name only. Both the *Frauenschaft* and the *Frauenwerk* are organized in detail according to the characteristic Nazi categories of *Reich*, *Gau*, *Kreis* and *Ort*. Naturally at every level of organization *Frauenschaft* members occupy leading positions and guide and educate their sister women along National Socialist lines.

There are nine departments of the *Frauenwerk* of which four are administrative departments concerned with affairs of business and press. The first activity department established was that of mother service; another has to do with domestic and folk economy; a third is concerned with education and culture; a fourth is concerned with foreign affairs; a fifth connects the *Frauenwerk* with nursing and Red Cross activities and with the air protection organization that binds Germans together through fear of an aerial enemy.

Feminine youth is also organized in the *Bund deutscher Mädel*, in the labor service and in student groups. Mention may also be made of the fact that there is a woman's bureau in the German Work Front that protects the interests of women workers. Frau Scholtz-Klink reports that there are some 60,000 leaders in this work and 25,000 women office leaders.¹¹

The Nazi theory of the family and of woman's place looks backward rather than forward. There is a rebellion against the complexity of the modern world with its urbanization, individualism and mobility. The Nazi theorist wants to get back to a natural order, to *Blut und Boden*, to simple and stable home life. He would revive the patriarchal clan, strengthen tradition and combat the menace of urban life by establishing settlements and peasant estates. Above all there must be reproduction. The family as the germ cell of the people must keep the life tides running full and strong. The attitude toward sex is a mixture of Puritanism, glorification of vital forces and a vague desire to reconcile a moralistic attitude toward illegitimacy with the exigencies of population policies.¹²

The search for an official Nazi view of women's place is a bewildering, almost impossible quest. Clarity of statement is not always the best politics. Point twenty-one of the platform merely calls for the protection of mother

⁹ Gertrude Baumgart, *Frauenbewegung, Gestern und Heute*, Heidelberg, 1933.

¹⁰ "Aus dem Deutschen Frauenwerk," *Die Ärztin*, 11, March 1935, 53.

¹¹ "Über die gegenwärtige Ausdehnung der Frauentätigkeit," *Die Frau*, 43, Apr. 1936, 432.

¹² Horst Becker, *Die Familie*, Leipzig, Moritz Schäfer, n.d.

and child. Hitler's famous book simply posits motherhood as the aim of feminine education.¹³ In a Nürnberg speech, September 8, 1934, he eloquently contrasts the larger world of the man and the smaller domestic sphere of the woman. "Her world is her husband, her family, her children and her house." Later he states "We do not feel it to be right when the woman presses into the principal domain of the man. Rather we find it natural when the two worlds remain separate." The views of the lady leaders, Frau Siber and later Frau Scholtz-Klink, exalt motherhood, physical and spiritual. It is interesting to note, however, that both hint that women are entitled to at least "motherly" employment outside of the home.

Taking the literature as a whole, we learn that women should be guardians of the germ plasm, cherish the German tradition, be comrades rather than competitors, bear healthy children, unite the family with the folk, create a pleasant home atmosphere, handle men tactfully, guard morality, practice domestic economy, educate the younger generation, nurse the weak and helpless, carry on an artistic tradition, be the guardians of the life process, be the custodians of spiritual values, strengthen themselves by exercise for motherhood, nourish patriotism and be thoroughly womanly women. Perhaps the three points most stressed in family theory are reproduction, sex differences and strengthened home life. One suspects, of course, inconsistencies in the Nazi theory, logical inconsistency of ideas, disagreement of authorities, and a view that varies with altered social conditions.

In view of Nazi campaign appeals, it is interesting to consider whether the social revolution in Germany has brought women closer to the promised land of home and husband. The marriage rate declined to a low point in 1924 of 7.1 and in 1932 at the height of the depression was only 7.9. The depression years brought a difficult situation to the younger generation and prevented many young girls from getting married. The vigorous Nazi campaign to promote marriage began by granting marriage loans in August 1933. To January 1937 about 700,000 of these loans were granted, averaging about 600 marks.¹⁴ In 1933 and in 1934 a strong campaign was made against "double earnings" in the same family.¹⁵ Other measures aside from a barrage of propaganda, included curtailing the length of the educational period and some encouragement through the provision of housing facilities. It is impossible to prove that the campaign as such was successful, but the marriage rates rose from 7.9 in 1932 to 9.7 in 1933 and to 11.1 in 1934. In 1935 there was a drop to 9.7 and the estimated rate for 1936 is 9.1.¹⁶

There are serious obstacles still opposing the prompt marriage of many German women. The age of marriage is fairly high in Germany. Even in

¹³ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1936 ed., p. 460.

¹⁴ *Die Ortskrankenkasse*, 24, Feb. 21, 1937, Ausgabe A, 186.

¹⁵ J. Leers, "Zum Problem der Frühehe und der Frauenarbeit", *Die Ärztin*, 10, Oct. 10, 1934, 177-182.

¹⁶ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 17, Jan. 2, 1937, 79-80.

1934 the average age of first marriages for men in Brandenburg was 27.7.¹⁷ The writer's calculation of an average of age categories, weighted by the marriage rates, showed no significant decrease in the age of marriage for men in 1934 as compared with 1932.¹⁸ The Wehrmacht law of March 16, 1935 and the Labor Service Law of June 26, 1935 inevitably postpone matrimony. The mobilization of German youth has perhaps furthered prostitution, which as an institution does not favor marriage. A census of venereal disease in 1934, however, revealed a marked decline in comparison with 1927.¹⁹ The proportion of illegitimate births has declined sharply from 10.6 in 1933 to 8.0 in 1935, largely due to the increase in legitimate births. Rather constantly, however, from year to year a hundred thousand German women become mothers without having acquired husbands.

The demand that German mothers heal a sick population by increased fertility plays a prominent part in modern Germany. Long before the seizure of power there was grave concern over the declining birth rate, which fell steadily to a low point of 14.7 in 1933. According to the census of 1933 over a fifth of the marriages yielded no offspring.²⁰ The causes for German women's reluctance to bear children were probably not different from those operating elsewhere. Economic pressure, changing mobility, individualism, competitive consumption, urbanization and other factors gave impetus to the utilization of ever more widely known birth control methods.²¹

The National Socialist population policy was vigorous and clear cut.²² Financial measures included (1) marriage loans on a tremendous scale, (2) subsidies to large families, (3) removal of tax burdens, (4) equalization funds for doctors, apothecaries and dentists, (5) special favors in regard to employment, transportation, rent, and education of children. There was also repression of abortion and opposition to birth control. Naturally every possible propaganda device was used in conjunction with these measures. The increase in the birth rate was extraordinary. It jumped to 18.0 in 1934, to 18.9 in 1935 and the estimated rate for 1936 is 19.1.²³ If the decline of abortions in Berlin were nation-wide, a rise of 84.7 percent could *theoretically* be explained by reduction in abortions.²⁴ External deterrents to birth control practices should not be ignored as causative factors. For example, the advertising council for German business in conjunction with Nazi leaders gave out an order that contraceptives were to be handled only by

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 17, Mar. 1, 1937, 167.

¹⁸ From *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1936*, p. 40.

¹⁹ Dornedden u. Baland, *Reichszählung der Geschlechtskranken 1934*, 1. "Beiheft zum Reichs-Gesundheitsblatt," 1935.

²⁰ *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1936*, p. 44.

²¹ Rudolf Heberle, "Soziologische Ursachen der Geburtenschänkung," *Die Ärztin*, 11, Oct. 10, 1935, 163-168.

²² For a detailed discussion see F. H. Hankins, "German Policies for Increasing Births," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 42, Mar. 1937, 630-652.

²³ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 17, Feb. 2, 1937, 164.

²⁴ See comment on Hankins' article, *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 43, July 1937, 122 et seq.

specialists and that advertising of contraceptive devices required special permission.²⁵

Repeatedly are German women called upon as guardians of race quality and race purity. They are urged to believe in an extravagant race mysticism and to struggle for a proud unity of the folk organism. Also the milder tones of scientific biology are to be heard urging co-operation in a race experiment which has unusual possibilities. The fight for an Aryan folk is based upon ethnocentric politics and on the assumption, that, to love, one must be taught to hate. The prompt expulsion of Jews from all official positions is a well known fact. The Nuremberg law of 1935 for the protection of German blood and German honor prohibits both marital and extra-marital sex intercourse between Jew and Aryan.

The most striking eugenic measure of the Nazi regime is the sterilization law of 1933 which has been described for the American public by Cook and Kopp.²⁶ Scientific criticism of eugenic measures is probably not encouraged by an order which makes agitation against the law liable to prosecution according to the law against "malicious attack on state and party."²⁷ In the *Reichsgesundheitsamt* figures were kindly supplied for 1934 according to which 32,268 persons had actually been sterilized, in the bulk of cases for feeble-mindedness with schizophrenia and epilepsy playing subordinate roles. Kopp estimates that some 150,000 persons were sterilized up to July 1935. Dr. Linden of the *Innenministerium* says that the actual amount is about half this figure. The person in closest contact with the facts felt free to state that the figure for 1935 was significantly larger than that for 1934. Eight hundred official eugenic clinics (*Eheberatungsstellen für Erb und Rassenpflege*) have been established. These have largely replaced the older private and local marriage clinics. They investigate the eugenic fitness of applicants for marriage loans, child subsidies and the like. Also according to the marriage health law of 1935 they investigate applicants for marriage certificates who are suspected of defects. Eventually health certificates will be required of all persons getting married. From a purely scientific point of view there is interest in the extraordinary collection of case records accumulated in these clinics and assembled in a remarkable central collection in the *Reichsgesundheitsamt*.

The status of employed women deserves consideration in the light of recent trends. In 1933 there were 11,479,000 women listed in the working population, or 34.2 percent of the total. Of this great working force 36.3 percent were married women. The depression situation in Germany was similar to that in other capitalistic countries. The entrepreneur attempted

²⁵ *Die Rheinprovinz*, 12, Dec. 12, 1936, 866.

²⁶ R. Cook, "A Year of German Sterilization," *Jr. of Heredity*, 26, 1935, 485-489; and Marie E. Kopp, "Legal and Medical Aspects of Eugenic Sterilization in Germany," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1, Oct. 1936, 761-770.

²⁷ "Warnung vor Hetze gegen das Sterilizationsgesetz." *Deutsches Ärzteblatt*: 65: 29: 20, July 1935, p. 701.

to reduce production costs by replacing men by women workers. Not without cause the National Socialist Government pledged itself to put an end to this absurdity. The granting of marriage loans to women who would give up their work after marriage was one weapon, and another was a fanatical crusade against "double earnings" and even against the employment of women as such. Warning voices were raised almost at once, but the fact remains that many women did lose their positions with scant regard for means of future support. In Lübeck, restaurant keepers were urged to replace waitresses of their own accord "so that the police officials of Lübeck would not be compelled to take other measures."²⁸

The clash of theory with economic forces was a complete defeat for the theory, since the absolute number of women workers increased steadily from 1933 through 1936.²⁹ Moreover, the theory of man as a natural wage earner was promptly altered by the improvement of business to the view that women not only had a right but a duty to contribute to economic production outside of the home.

It is claimed that marvellous reforms have been instituted for protection of the working woman, but not all these claims are borne out by the statistics. Wages have remained practically unchanged and are still strikingly low for women as compared with men.³⁰ Factory legislation of various kinds has indeed been continued and improved but admittedly heavy work is still performed by women in Germany. Nazi theory seemed to call clearly for a reduction in the number of working mothers. There are no direct statistics but the increasing demand for day nurseries suggests that mothers are still at the machines. Furthermore, the writer calculated the number of pregnancies known to the *Krankenkassen* per year per thousand women employed at the beginning of each year. The ratio for 1933 was 8.01, for 1934, 8.72, for 1935, 8.86 and 1936, 8.48.³¹

The problem of the older women leaders, especially the professional women, has been more complicated than that of the woman working in the ranks. These leaders were more likely to be identified with the older woman's movement, with political parties that were wiped out by the revolution, and were attacked as horrible examples of the effect of higher education on women. The law of April 1933 did restrict the woman's quota of new registrations in the universities for 1934 to ten percent. This restriction was removed, however, by an order of February 9, 1935. In the winter semester of 1932-33 only about 16 percent of the 122,847 students in the German *Hochschule* were women. In the winter semester of 1933-34, 14.5 percent, in the winter semester 1934-35, 13.5 percent, and in the winter semester for 1935-36, 13.6 percent were women.³²

²⁸ *Die Deutsche Kämpferin*, July 1934, 119.

²⁹ *Arbeit und Arbeitslosigkeit*, 4, Feb. 24, 1937, 24-26.

³⁰ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 17, Jan. 1, 1937, 21-22.

³¹ *Arbeit und Arbeitslosigkeit*, 4, Feb. 24, 1937, 24-26.

³² See *Berufskundliche Nachrichten*, 13, Sept. 1933, 129; *Der Deutsche Hochschulführer*, 18th ed., 1936; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 544.

Professional women suffered heavily through loss of position and opportunities. Women lawyers were sharply curtailed as to opportunity for judgeships. In the girls' schools women were replaced by war veterans and reduced to a ratio of two women to three men teachers instead of one to two.³³ Out of some six thousand university teachers, there were only forty-six women in the winter of 1935-36. Many able social workers lost prominent positions and, while the total number of women workers has not greatly changed, the leading positions are in the hands of men. The women doctors put up a hard fight against their masculine competitors and particularly against an order which favored men in the admission to panel practice and eliminated married women doctors whose husbands had incomes of over 500 marks per month. Their protests were finally silenced by incorporation of women doctors in the *Reichsärztekammer*. For the more loyal National Socialist women, it must be added, positions have opened up as domestic scientists, and as leaders in the various National Socialist organizations.

In general the evidence is not quite consistent with the claim that women are to be guaranteed full work privileges as mothers to the folk. The old question as to who is to have leadership in determining woman's place cannot be downed. There is some reason to think that the woman in the ranks was forced to continue her work against her will and that the woman leader was to some extent deprived of work that gave full expression to her powers of leadership. German women of course have a leader for exhibition in their *Führerin*, but in party, in leading government posts, among industrial administrators (*Treuhändler*), and in the Reichstag they have little or no representation by members of their own sex.

It is pertinent to consider the law and order in the "smaller" woman's realm of home and family so idealized in Nazi theory. An integration theory is plausible; a common ideology and comradely service to the group might well reduce disorganization in German family life. A disintegration theory is also plausible, assuming differential acceptance between husband and wife of National Socialism with corresponding increase of tension. The writer obtained impressionistic evidence that could be used to support both theories.

Divorce statistics offer objective but inconclusive evidence. In 1933 the rate per 10,000 marriages was 29.7, in 1934 it rose to 37.0 and in 1935 fell to 33.1. The trend may or may not have been due to the rise and decline of revolutionary confusion.³⁴ The trend of court decisions and of proposals point to a probable change in divorce law. Annulments are granted readily in the case of marriage with Jews and persons having hereditary defects and persons who are sterile. The new divorce law would lay stress upon family disorganization, would grant divorce in cases of refusal to have children, and would permit application for divorce by an outside official

³³ *Die Deutsche Kämpferin*, 2, April 1, 1934, 22.

³⁴ *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, p. 63.

for the good of the state.³⁵ The new penal code would punish adultery as an offense against the state, the belittling of motherhood and the refusal of aid to a pregnant woman.³⁶

The relation of mothers to the younger generation is somewhat interesting and critical. Most informants agree that there has been a good deal of tension, over and above the ordinary conflict of generations, due to the militant youth organizations, religious conflict and the rapid change of ideology. A tremendous program of aid for mother and child has been carried on by the state, involving parental education, vacation trips, aid within the home, medical advice and assistance before and after the birth of children. The situation presents its contradictions. Is the family nourished and strengthened or is it pampered and weakened through appropriation by the state of functions traditionally associated with family initiative?

All in all it must be said that the National Socialist claim to have solved the woman problem is no more justified than the claims of other states. Recalling the arbitrary definition of the woman's problem previously given, it may be pointed out that here, as elsewhere, disequilibrium between work and reproduction still remains. (1) Hundreds of thousands of German women who have work in plenty are still deprived of opportunity for marriage and reproduction. (2) Many German women are burdened with excessive reproduction. The ban upon birth control clinics has made it even more difficult even to space pregnancies in the interest of health. (3) Thousands of mothers are still tending machines, bearing a double burden of work and reproduction. (4) The balance of burdens and obligations of the wife, as compared with those of the husband is not established by any clear-cut theory. (5) Reproduction is still insufficient to maintain the population when age structure is considered. (6) In Germany, as elsewhere, there are women so bound by law and custom that they are unable to utilize their full working capacity. (7) Heavy work in the fields and in the factories is still performed, which is doubtless detrimental to the reproductive functions of women. (8) The problem of adjusting work and reproduction to the individual life cycle is not completely solved. Work may postpone reproduction and may be difficult to take up again as a full expression of ability when the reproductive period is past. (9) The pattern of work and reproduction is imperfectly established with references to individual differences, although greater flexibility has appeared of late. (10) Confused public opinion in regard to woman's place is still a feature of German life.

The special lot of German women as distinct from German men has changed less than is ordinarily assumed. The fate of German women will be that of the German people. The bonds have been broken with women of other lands and, with slight chance for protest, German women are being led to the ultimate choice of peace or war.

³⁵ Martens-Edelmann "Neugestaltung des Ehescheidungsrechtes," *Die Frau*, 43, Apr. and May 1936, 385-395 and 479-483.

³⁶ *Deutsche Justiz*, Mar. 24, 1935, 776.

RECENT CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX AND MARRIAGE

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A CONSIDERABLE body of evidence¹ points to two general trends of attitude changes in this country during the past few years. In the area of individual behavior the trend may be characterized as in the direction of greater tolerance for formerly disapproved actions. In the area of political and economic affairs a somewhat similar trend, often labelled as being in the direction of "liberalism," may more aptly be described as an increasingly critical attitude toward previously accepted institutions. The purpose of this paper is to point out the degree to which more specific attitudes toward sex and marriage conform to these general trends.

Before proceeding to the data, several shortcomings inherent in the available material must be pointed out. 1. All attitudes vary with such individual traits as age, sex, intelligence, and personality characteristics; and they vary enormously with such sociological factors as economic status and the particular nature of affiliated groups.² Except for occasional references to a few of these factors, the writer has been compelled, in these pages, to ignore these variations and look for general trends.

2. In most cases, methods of obtaining information are not beyond question; degree of veracity and selection of subjects are nearly always uncertain in questionnaire studies, and more behavioristic clues to attitudes are rarely of unambiguous interpretation. Only such sources are included, however, as are believed to be worthy of considerable confidence.

3. Too large a proportion of the available data concerns college students; very little is to be found regarding younger boys and girls or adults, particularly those of lower economic status. As a matter of fact, there is a paucity of data of every kind.

Opportunities to judge attitude trends from really comparable data collected at different periods are extremely rare. Data collected simultaneously from different age groups are far more common, but comparisons of different age groups are not, of course, entirely valid indicators of attitude trends, since individuals of different ages are diversely influenced by the same cultural influences. Most reliance will, therefore, be placed on conclusions derived from data collected at different periods, though data for different age groups will also be cited in the absence of earlier data of similar nature.

There is ample confirmation of the general trend toward increased toler-

¹ G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy and T. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, 1937.

² *Ibid.*

ance of formerly disapproved behaviors in the area of sex and marriage. Perhaps the demonstration of this which is methodologically neatest is that of Buck,³ who compared students' responses to the Pressey X-O test in 1923 with those of a similar group in 1933. While there were only slight changes in the number and nature of things worried about, and moderate changes in interests the number of expressed disapprovals decreased markedly during this ten-year period. This was conspicuously true of sex-connoting words, such as flirting, immodesty, and divorce. It is of interest to note that while, for boys, there was a steady decrease of disapprovals with increasing age from public school through college years, there was no corresponding decrease for girls until college age. The interpretation is offered that girls are kept closer to home conventions until they leave home for college. Such differentiation between boys and girls is evidently one of our culture traits, for according to another study involving a large number of subjects,⁴ boys diverge from their parents' attitudes toward church and toward communism some two or three years earlier than do girls.

A fair index of tolerance is the amount and nature of reading matter which people are willing to purchase, or to subsidize less directly. Hart's "statistical analyses of interests and opinions expressed in leading general magazines supplemented by analyses of certain book and newspaper indices"⁵ offer such a measure and in such manner as to give comparable information over a period of years. It is clear from these analyses that easy divorce and sex freedom in general are far more widely approved now than formerly. The data show that approval of birth control, of easy divorce, and of extra-marital sex relations was greater, in proportion to disapproval, in the period 1924-1927 than either before or later. But even after the "reaction" of 1931-1932, far more attention and toleration were given to breaches of the sexual morality code than in the period 1900-1905, by all types of magazines.

It is of some interest to note how such changes are accepted by those who are aware of them. In a survey⁶ of an apparently representative sampling of adults, 28 percent of those interviewed replied that sexual moral standards in this country are neither "better" nor "worse" than a generation ago; an additional ten percent were uncertain, while 45 percent replied "worse" and 17 percent replied "better." Nearly three-quarters of those who recognized change considered it to be for the worse. The "better" response was somewhat more frequent among men than among women, and considerably more common among the young and among city

³ W. A. Buck, "Measurement of Changes in Attitudes and Interests of University Students over a Ten-year Period." *Jour. Abn. and Soc. Psychol.*, 1936, 31, 12-19.

⁴ T. Newcomb and G. Svehla, "Intra-family Relationships in Attitude," *Sociometry*, 1937, 180-205.

⁵ H. Hart, "Changing Attitudes and Interests," *Recent Social Trends*, vol. 1, chap. 8.

⁶ Fortune, *Quarterly Survey*, Jan. 1937.

dwellers than among older and rural respondents. "Prosperous" respondents were somewhat more apt to reply "worse" than were "poor" ones. If this sampling is as nearly a cross-section of the public which has "accepted" the changes noted as it appears to be, then perhaps the most accurate description of current attitudes would be in terms of ambivalence, or conflict. This, incidentally, is precisely the picture painted by the Lynds⁷ in both their 1925 and their 1935 studies of Middletown, mainly from non-quantitative data.

We may now turn to some studies of more specific attitudes in the same area. No truly comparable investigations of attitude toward premarital sex experience are known to the writer, nor does there appear to be any possibility of determining the number of contraceptive devices purchased by the unmarried. Our conclusions regarding such attitude changes must, therefore, be arrived at by less objective means.

One thing is clear: present attitudes among the population at large are less different from those of a generation ago than many scarehead writers would have us believe. Only 22 percent of a large and carefully selected group of adults, in one survey,⁸ believed that it was "all right" for both parties to a marriage to have had previous sex experience; among men the percent was 28, and among men and women under 40 years of age it was 27 percent. Even among college students the percent was only 38. In view of the fact that few of these students were from the lower economic levels, and in view of the fact that the "poor" were less insistent upon virginity at marriage than the "prosperous" by a difference of nearly 10 percent, we may, if we assume that few of the students who answered "all right for both man and woman" will change their minds in the next few years, arrive at a fairly reliable conclusion concerning an attitude trend. Though the long-time trend toward relaxing disapprovals of premarital sex experience is clear, we are forced to one of the following conclusions regarding the repeated allegations of the sexual excesses of the 1920's, particularly by those of student age: either the allegations were considerably exaggerated, or there has been a considerable recession during the last decade toward prewar standards.

It must be repeated that comparable data from which this question can be answered are lacking. Several writers have presented evidence⁹ to the effect that the extremes of the 1920's are now moderating, and there seems to be little doubt that certain definite changes have occurred within the past decade. It is to be gravely doubted, however, that these changes are in the direction of any lesser frequency of premarital sex experience. It is probable that the changes are qualitative rather than quantitative, which is to say that, after all, attitudinal changes have occurred, even

⁷ R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown, 1929; Middletown in Transition, 1937*.

⁸ Fortune, *Quarterly Survey*, April 1937.

⁹ J. K. Folsom, *The Family*, 1934, chap. 13.

though there may have been little change in frequency on the behavior in question. The writer concludes from the evidence at his disposal that there is today less social compulsion upon the young to go as far as they dare. Coincident with this change is a continuing relaxation of the older moral and religious taboos upon sex intimacy before marriage. The major effects of these changes may be listed as follows: (1) less compulsive and more spontaneous demonstration of affection between boys and girls; (2) less soul-struggle on the part of the socially timid, who are freer than before to do as they please; (3) more widespread acceptance, particularly by females, of the "naturalness" of sex intimacies, with or without coitus; (4) less extreme "petting" on first or early acquaintance; and (5) more "steady dating" with fewer inhibitions as to sex intimacy following long acquaintance. The apparent change in the last decade is great; "sex is no longer news" to American youth. The change is most conspicuous, perhaps, in the degree to which and the manner in which it is talked about.

The writer is by no means certain of the interpretation just offered. It represents a sort of distillation both of "expert" opinion and of quantitative evidence, much of which he is not free to quote directly. But of one thing he is certain: that such is the type of information most needed if attitudes are to be really understood. Not the frequency, mean, and standard deviation of a given attitude response, but the sanctions by which it is enforced, is the essential kind of data. The codes suggested above may or may not be a true indication of a recent trend, but codes must be known and understood, if attitude measurements are to take on meaning. Consequences of acts, for either an individual or a society, may depend fully as much upon their attendant codes and sanctions as upon the nature of the acts themselves.

With this in mind, certain related problems may be considered. What evidence is there concerning the "double standard"? Most of it suggests that the pattern of attitudes associated with this phrase is slowly disappearing, and has all but gone among college groups in the East and Midwest. Less than one-tenth of those responding to the *Fortune* survey¹⁰ considered premarital sex experience "all right for men only," though one-quarter replied, "all right for both." "Old or young, three out of every four non-believers in strict marital purity believe that women are entitled equally with men to sexual experience," and students held to this belief more firmly than any other group. In an intensive survey of attitudes at a large eastern university a decade ago,¹¹ 56 percent of all students replied that there are no acts which are worse for a woman than for a man; one-half of the men and 69 percent of the women were in this group. The 39 percent who clung to the double standard with respect to certain acts listed primarily those connected with sex.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

¹¹ D. Katz and F. H. Allport, *Students' Attitudes*, 1931.

Evidence from another study of approximately the same date¹² yields some clues as to codes for women. They would like to adopt men's standards for themselves, but many of them fear it will stand in the way of marriage to some other man. This latter is specifically stated by 22 percent of these women respondents as the major reason for disapproving premarital sex relations. Further evidence from the same source reveals vestiges of the double standard: only 48 percent of these women state that they would tell their fiancés of their own previous sex experience, and only 55 percent of them state that they would not disapprove of premarital sex experience by their girl friends, whereas 71 percent would not break their engagements on learning of previous sex experience by their fiancés.

Two final considerations must be noted in connection with the topic of premarital sex relationships. First, most of the expressed codes are more extreme than a considerable number of young people can accept. (It may be, of course, that observers of such matters are more apt to obtain expressions of codes from those who are more outspoken in their statements, or most conspicuous in their behavior.) The evidence for this observation is simply the considerable divergence between codes as reported by numerous investigators and modal behaviors and attitudes as reported in their own and others' studies. The following quotations are taken verbatim from three reports: "It is expected by both boys and girls that men should have had sex experience, whereas boys prefer virginity in girls, but don't insist"; "Boys do not expect nor particularly want the Victorian concept of purity in the girl they marry. . . . It is right and decent to have intimate relations with the person you love, but you mustn't be promiscuous—that's cheap and vulgar"; "They don't put any particular oral premium on virginity, but the code seems to indicate reasonable restraint, particularly on the part of girls, before marriage, and fidelity on both sides after marriage . . . promiscuity isn't very pretty." (It may be noted, in passing, that all investigators are agreed that all discoverable codes taboo both marital infidelity and premarital "promiscuity.")

Now if these codes are interpreted merely as points beyond which one may not go, they are probably reasonably accurate reflections of attitudes of large numbers of college groups in this country today. But it is doubtful, judging by the available quantitative evidence as well as on *a priori* grounds, whether they represent actual guides to living of any considerable number of groups. There are too many pre-existing codes in conflict with them. If there is a "typical" attitude of college youth today, it is presumably one of conflict between codes which diverge in greater or less degree in respect to the point beyond which one may not go.

The other consideration is the widely reported observation that children of constantly decreasing ages are becoming sexually sophisticated. In the

¹² P. Blanchard and C. Manasses, *New Girls for Old*, 1930.

Middletown of a decade ago¹³ it was commonly regarded as true among high-school juniors and seniors that "nine out of ten boys and girls of high school age have petting parties"; 44 percent of the boys and 34 percent of the girls responding indicated that they had themselves taken part in them. In the Middletown of 1935¹⁴ "a sense of sharp, free behavior between the sexes . . . and of less disguise among the young" is reported; "a striking aspect of this growing adoption of what Middletown's young regard as sophisticated manners is its tendency to reach down to younger and younger children." Several investigators associated with another study¹⁵ report that under conditions of good teacher-pupil rapport, spontaneous questions concerning heterosexual relations emerge as early as the seventh grade; their evidence comes from their own teaching experience, from a large number of autobiographical sketches by junior and senior high-school children, and collections of spontaneous questions asked by children. The relative sophistication of junior high-school children of higher economic levels may be judged from the fact that questions concerning intercourse, fertility, and sterility make up nearly half of all those submitted. More than half of the questions put by a senior high-school group of similar status concerned intercourse and contraception. One of these investigators, a teacher who has long studied such problems closely, states that the average boy in upper-class urban communities first hears about contraceptives at the age of eight, and by the time he is thirteen he knows where they can be purchased, though he may not know just how they are used. It is a rare boy, this teacher continues, who at the age of sixteen does not know how to purchase and to apply condoms—and who has the nerve to do either. He has found a sizable minority of senior high-school boys who also know about female contraceptive devices. All of these investigators are agreed that boys are apt to have more information at earlier ages than girls.

Less information is available to the writer concerning such sophistication among the young of lower economic groups. One investigator, who has himself taught in both private and trade schools, reports that working-class boys are more apt to move suddenly from relative indifference to girls to overt sex relationships, with little or no intermediate stage of petting. Conclusions based upon "case histories of over 500 boys and girls" leading the lives of tramps and transients in this country¹⁶ indicate that while the code enforces some restrictions (e.g., intercourse between white boys and colored girls, and the homosexual exploiting of boys by older men), boy and girl sex relations are almost universal, and accepted as

¹³ Lynd, *Middletown*, 1929.

¹⁴ Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 1937.

¹⁵ Progressive Education Association's Commission on Adolescence. The material quoted was obtained orally from several of their investigators.

¹⁶ T. Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*, 1934; B. Reitman, *Sister of the Road*, 1937.

commonplace. Juvenile Court statistics yield little information at this point, for sophistication in such matters involves, by definition, not getting caught.

That there has been a change in attitudes toward marriage in recent years is amply testified. One survey of college students¹⁷ concludes as follows: "Today the prospect of marriage and children is popular again; 60 percent of the girls and 50 percent of the men would like to marry within a year or two of graduation." A prominent consulting psychologist¹⁸ summarizes the evidence he has gathered during the past three years thus: "From 90 percent to 95 percent of the college women have answered that a career as a wife and mother was their aim, and that helping a husband in his career was more important than a career of their own." This change has evidently made itself felt as early as the high-school level. A psychologist familiar with the attitudes of several groups in various types of schools¹⁹ reports that both boys and girls tend to take it for granted that they will be married, as they did not a decade ago. Indeed, she continues, high-school children are definitely more mature, in this sense, than they were; they are already thinking about it in serious terms. Girls are more conscious of their future roles as women in their homes with children, and eagerly anticipate it. Boys share these attitudes; they expect and want to marry that kind of women. These interpretations are based largely upon conversations with children from urban communities from higher economic levels, but they are confirmed by another observer who has made it a point to converse with large numbers of young people of little or no means:²⁰ "They will marry on small incomes; they will put up with all sorts of makeshifts; they will even marry on relief."

Attitudes toward divorce are part of the same pattern. Almost no one disapproves of divorce where there are no children, according to one study,²¹ and less than half of the women respondents to the same questionnaire registered disapproval even with children. Only 11 percent of *Fortune's* respondents²² replied, when asked whether divorce proceedings should be made less expensive and troublesome, that there should be no divorce, though 54 percent of them disapproved of making divorces "easier." But in spite of what might be considered unexpected tolerance on this point, apparently no one wants divorce, and according to more than one writer, this has always been true. Diverse opinions are on record as to the degree to which the possibilities of divorce serve as reassurance against the uncertainties of marriage, but this is clearly a more potent consideration now than formerly.

¹⁷ Prog. Ed. Assn. Com. on Adolescence, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ H. C. Link, *The Return to Religion*, 1936.

¹⁹ Prog. Ed. Assn. Com. on Adolescence, *op. cit.*

²⁰ M. Davis, *The Lost Generation*, 1936.

²¹ Blanchard and Manasses, *op. cit.*

²² *Fortune*, *Quarterly Survey*, April, 1937.

The pattern outlined above includes the expectation of having children. According to one survey of college students,²³ at least half of them would like to have children soon after marriage: "40 percent of the boys and 30 percent of the girls consider two children per family the ideal number; very few want none, and very few want more than four." A comparison of recent studies with earlier ones gives some indication that the number of children desired has increased somewhat within the past decade.²⁴ These attitudes are seeping down into the high-school level, according to at least one student of such matters,²⁵ who states that boys of that age and of higher economic levels show fully as much interest in babies and children as do girls.

The trends noted above may now be summarized, with some attempt to inquire into the sanctions which lie behind them. No treatment of recent attitudinal changes can afford, in particular, to ignore the possible influence of the recent depression, and no single source contains so much information nor so many insights concerning this as the Lynds' *Middletown in Transition*. The degree to which nearly every aspect of life was increasingly "strained through the pecuniary sieve" was made apparent in the earlier *Middletown* of a decade ago. The consequences of having the bottom drop out of the sieve might, therefore, be expected to be grave. Can the attitudinal trends noted be better understood in this light?

Perhaps a cue is to be found in Middletown's recent marriage and divorce statistics. Marriages, in common with those of the country as a whole, fell rapidly following 1929 but rose in 1933, when Middletown's index of industrial employment was at its lowest, by a considerable margin. Divorces, known to be similarly sensitive to fluctuations of the business cycle, continued to drop during that year. The upturn in the marriage rate in 1933 is interpreted as "showing the propensity of people to brook postponement of marriage only so long, and then go ahead regardless of adverse circumstances." The motivation of this is suggested by the interpretation offered for another interesting phenomenon in Middletown during these years, the rise in secret marriages among the high-school population. This, it is suggested, may "reflect in part the tendency of more reckless couples to plunge ahead in quest of the one thing two people can achieve together even in the face of a blind future—personal intimacy."

Taboos become less fearful in the face of urgent necessity. In the case of sexual taboos, at least two undermining tendencies had been evident previous to the depression: a decline in the efficacy of religious sanctions,²⁶

²³ Fortune, *Quarterly Survey*, June, 1936.

²⁴ C. Kirkpatrick, "Student Attitudes toward Marriage and Sex," *Jour. of Ed. Sociol.*, 9, 1936, 545-555; S. Rice, "Undergraduate Attitudes toward Marriage and Children," *Mental Hygiene*, 13, 1929, 788-793.

²⁵ Prog. Ed. Assn. Com. on Adolescence, *op. cit.*

²⁶ Hart, *op. cit.*

and an increase in the availability of contraceptives. There can be but one result of an increasing force—i.e., the need for personal intimacy—in the presence of decreasing resistance. When the result takes the form of social behavior appropriate rationalizations may be anticipated, and these take the form of revised codes. The codes, however, are permissive rather than compulsive. The “increasing force” just noted is psychological and physiological, and no social sanctions other than permissive ones are needed.

The writer has taken the position that there has been no quantitative decline in premarital sex relations since the alleged excesses of the “jazz age” of the 1920’s, but that there have none the less been changes in manners and morals associated with such behavior. This, of course, would be inevitable, if the above analysis is correct, for the sanctions of the earlier period were very different. There is considerable evidence that among some groups, at least, the newer codes of a decade ago were actually compulsive, that individuals in considerable numbers felt themselves in danger of losing caste if the “new freedom” was not exploited. Individual motivations were to a considerably less extent those of intimacy as the one possible form of security, and to a considerably greater extent those of exciting exploration, the more exciting since the code which demanded it was in direct conflict with very recent and still existing taboos.

Those interested in the consequences for mental health of such attitudinal changes as those here postulated will note the relative “normality” of the more recent codes, as contrasted with the compulsive nature of the earlier ones. Many writers²⁷ mention the increasing atmosphere of realism in which decisions regarding sex behavior are made; i.e., larger numbers of young people are attempting to make decisions on the basis of cool calculation of consequences, rather than in accordance with an inherited code. Whether they are capable of making decisions in such manner is another question, though the gradual relenting of the group compulsions of the past decade would appear to make it more possible now.

Those interested in the dependence, in capitalist societies, of so many aspects of human well-being upon the ebb and flow of profits as the source of the stream, will observe the precarious nature of the currently more “normal” attitudes described. They will note²⁸ that the changes have probably affected the lowest economic groups little or none. They will note the probability that one set of compulsions has merely been exchanged for another, and that personal intimacy, no matter how satisfying and consoling, is no substitute for other needs. And they will probably conclude that such changes can be neither fundamental nor stable in a society whose fundamental workings are not determined by considerations of human well-being.

²⁷ Blanchard and Manasses, *op. cit.*; Davis, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 1937.

RESEARCH IN CAUSES OF VARIATIONS IN FERTILITY: MEDICAL ASPECTS*

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THE SIZE of any given family, which in the aggregate influences the fertility rate of the socio-economic group to which that family belongs, is determined by a number of intimately related factors: social, economic, psychological, and biological. It is difficult to consider the role of any single group of these factors without at the same time considering its relationship with all the others.

The "biological" or "medical" factors which may cause variations in fertility may be classified into two groups: (a) involuntary causes—those which are due to differences in physiological activity or intercurrent pathology and which happen without reference to any effort on the part of individual couples to control their fertility, and (b) voluntary causes—those which are the direct result of conscious efforts to control fertility. In the strictest sense, voluntary control of fertility is of sociological rather than of medical concern, but insofar as voluntary control affects the public health, it also becomes a medical problem. Both groups of factors may be present at the same time, but for convenience they will be discussed separately.

Present knowledge concerning the involuntary causes of variations in fertility relates to those factors which lessen fertility or produce sterility. They are of two types: (1) those which interfere with the possibility of the fertilization of an ovum, and (2) those which interfere with the wife's ability to bear a live child. It is important to emphasize the fact that absolute sterility is a rare phenomenon. Meaker found that only 30 percent of the cases coming to him for the medical treatment of sterility could be classified as absolutely sterile. Fertility is not an all or none proposition.

Reynolds and Macomber,¹ in experiments with rats, found that the fertility of a mating was the product of the fertility of the individual partners. All individual fertilities, as tested by the trial and error method, were expressed in percentages and it was found that the average individual fertility of males and females was the same, approximately 0.8. Thus, the average mating fertility was the product of 0.8 and 0.8 or 0.64. Approximately the same mating fertility resulted from mating two animals with individual ratings of 0.9 and 0.7 or of 1.0 and 0.65. From a long series of experimental matings the authors determined that when the

* Read before the joint meeting of the American Statistical Association and the Population Association of America, Chicago, Illinois, December 30, 1936.

¹ E. Reynolds and D. Macomber, *Fertility and Sterility in Human Marriages*, Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Company, 1924, p. 158 ff.

mating fertility was above 0.6 the mating would be fertile, while below 0.4 it would be sterile. The zone between 0.4 and 0.6 was classified as a doubtful zone, that is, relative infertility. The same result was obtained whether the more fertile partner was male or female.

Meaker,² in discussing the problem of human fertility, expresses the situation as follows: "The human animal . . . is by comparison with others a poor breeder, rarely endowed with . . . absolute fertility. . . . Most couples who succeed in reproducing do so in spite of certain imperfections in the conceptive mechanism; . . . in other words, most people are relatively and not absolutely fertile."

The factors which interfere with the production of a fertilized ovum include any developmental defect, infection, neoplasm, endocrine dysfunction, or other disease which interferes with the production of normal sperms or ova or with the passage of sperms or ova to the point of fertilization. Probably the most important of these factors is infection, which may act in a number of ways. For example, infection may produce complete sterility by blocking the Fallopian tubes in the female or the vasa deferentia in the male, and, on the other hand, it may produce a very slight relative infertility by changing the hydrogen ion concentration of the secretions of the accessory glands of the male or of the cervix in the female. Infection or any other pathological process may produce varying degrees of infertility between these two extremes. Systemic disease and deficiencies in diet and exercise may affect the individual comparatively little and yet interfere markedly with the production of viable spermatozoa. Since we have no exact mechanism for studying ovulation, we do not know their effect on ovulation. Research on these matters is progressing rapidly, however, and before long we should have a fairly complete knowledge of the physiology of ovulation and the effect of pathology on ovulation rates. The conditions which most frequently cause local interference with fertilization are probably endocrine disturbances, gonorrhea, and puerperal infection, including those infections which follow induced abortion.

The importance of any one cause of sterility or infertility is unknown. In the first place, sterility, which is the only aspect of the problem which has been studied to any extent, is seldom caused by a single factor. Usually there are several underlying causes, and conception does not take place until most or all of these difficulties have been eliminated. In the second place, most pathologic conditions are temporary and reversible with treatment. Thus, a couple may be infertile for a period and then become fertile or vice versa. The incidence of involuntary sterility or infertility in broad population groups is unknown.

In a recent study by the Milbank Memorial Fund staff of the preclinic control of fertility by a group of women who subsequently attended the

² Samuel R. Meaker, *Human Sterility*, Williams and Wilkins Co., 1934, pp. 3-4.

Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City,³ a small amount of information was available concerning the incidence of gross pathology in the group.⁴ It was found that when the total exposure and pregnancies of 57 cases with known serious pathology were excluded from the tabulations, pregnancy rates, when contraception was not practiced, showed no decline with length of married life after the first pregnancy.⁵ A sharp decline following the first pregnancy is probably due to the presence of periods of lactation and amenorrhea which may precede all pregnancies except the first. The rates are compared in Figure 1 and Table I. The same women could and, for the most part, did enter into both types of exposure.

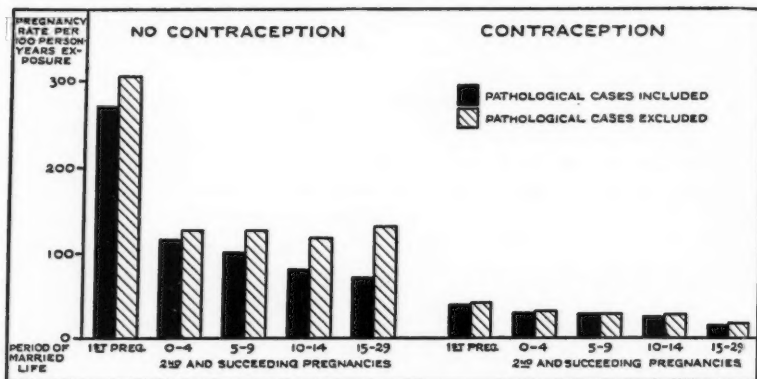


Figure 1.—Pregnancy rates for periods during which contraception was and was not practiced with and without the total exposure and pregnancies of 57 pathological cases.

Three findings are indicated from comparing the rates with and without the experience of these 57 women: (1) that the inclusion of the pathological

³ Regine K. Stix and Frank W. Notestein, "Effectiveness of Birth Control. A Study of Contraceptive Practice in a Selected Group of New York Women," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 12, Jan. 1934, 57-68; and "Effectiveness of Birth Control. A Second Study of Contraceptive Practice in a Selected Group of New York Women," *ibid.*, 13, April, 1935, 162-178.

⁴ The records which formed the basis of this study were secured by personal interviews conducted by the author. The women were not examined and information concerning pathology was in the nature of a history. The following are examples of the cases excluded because of pathology which probably interfered with fertility: (1) Unilateral oophorectomy (case No. 823); (2) Marked retroversion; tubes inflated and cervix cauterized before conception took place (case No. 990); (3) Pelvic abscess following self-induced abortion (case No. 522); (4) Husband impotent because of severe endocrinopathy; conception followed endocrine therapy (case No. 608).

⁵ The pregnancy rates represent pregnancies per 100 person-years exposure to risk of pregnancy. A woman is presumed to be exposed to the risk of pregnancy when she is between menarche and menopause, living with her husband, and not pregnant. We have, therefore, deducted from the total months of each woman's married life (1) all separations of husband and wife, (2) the actual number of months of gestation for each pregnancy plus a month or a

cases definitely lowered the rates among women who did not habitually practice contraception, (2) that the influence of pathology on these pregnancy rates increased with age (length of married life), and (3) that the use of contraceptives had so marked an effect in itself in lowering pregnancy rates that the absence or presence of pathology in the proportion in which it appeared in the exposure during which* contraception was practiced did not affect pregnancy rates significantly. These tabulations relate to a small and highly selected group of women, but they suggest the possible influence of pathology on pregnancy rates.

The factors which interfere with the birth of a live child, once fertili-

TABLE I. PREGNANCY RATES PER 100 PERSON-YEARS' EXPOSURE WITH AND WITHOUT THE TOTAL EXPOSURE AND PREGNANCIES OF 57 PATHOLOGICAL CASES*

Period of Married Life	Rates for Period during Which Contraception Was Not Habitually Practiced		Rates for Period during Which Contraception Was Habitually Practiced	
	All Women	Pathological Cases Excluded	All Women	Pathological Cases Excluded
1st pregnancy	271	304	41	42
2nd and succeeding pregnancies				
Total	105	125	27	28
0-4	114	125	32	33
5-9	102	125	27	27
10-14	81	117	24	26
15-29	69	131	15	16

* From the pre-clinic records of 991 women who attended the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City.

zation has taken place, fall into the same general categories as those which interfere with fertilization. These factors, again, may be local or general. For example, local changes in the uterus, such as those due to fibroid tumors, may so interfere with the nidation of the embryo or with its nutrition that the embryo dies and miscarriage takes place. General conditions are probably more frequently responsible than local ones for pre-natal death. Endocrine diseases involving changes in thyroid or pituitary

fraction of a month for the puerperal period following it, and (3) the period following menopause or sterilization. The time remaining is the total exposure to risk of pregnancy, and pregnancy rates have been computed by the following formula: $\text{Rate} = P/Y \times 100$, where P = number of pregnancies, and Y = number of years of exposure to risk of pregnancy. The rates represent the total experience of all women in the specified duration of married life and type of exposure.

The types of contraception reported were mainly condom, coitus interruptus, douche, and alternations of these methods. The rates for the exposure during which contraception was practiced refer to the combined exposure with all types of contraception. Detailed studies of the relative effectiveness of these types of contraception have been previously published. See reference 3 above.

activity, untreated diabetes, dietary deficiencies, anaemias, and all types of infection, of which syphilis is among the most important, may be responsible for miscarriage or stillbirth. Treatment of these conditions usually reduces the risk of pregnancy wastage.

In the Milbank Fund study previously cited, it was found that the incidence of accidental pregnancy wastage (stillbirth, spontaneous abortion, etc.) was less than 10 percent of all pregnancies, and was not significantly different in three religious groups, nor did it change with increasing length of marriage. There was also no indication that its prevalence had changed within the twenty-five year period studied. Although the sample studied is small, the evidence is suggestive that this type of pregnancy wastage is probably unimportant in producing variations in fertility.⁶

There is only a limited amount of material which gives any evidence on the relative importance of voluntary and involuntary pregnancy wastage in the reduction of fertility. The results demonstrated were obtained from the records of a highly selected group of women and as such can scarcely be presumed to apply to the population at large.

We have additional indirect evidence, however, which leads us to conclude that involuntary factors are of little importance in causing variations in fertility. The incidence of dietary deficiencies, infection, and other diseases which may cause infertility probably varies inversely with economic status. However, infertility as expressed both in childlessness and in total number of children born varies directly with economic status. A high birth rate is found in precisely those groups in which the types of pathology which might lead to infertility are most prevalent. It has been shown that in the small group studied the presence of pathology reduced the pregnancy rates of women who practiced no contraception. Therefore, to the extent to which couples practice no contraception, involuntary factors probably do reduce fertility and are at least partially responsible for the reduction in fertility with advancing age. Conversely, it is possible that relatively infertile couples find no need to practice contraception. The whole problem is exceedingly complex and can be more easily summarized after we have considered the importance of voluntary control as a cause of variations in fertility.

Voluntary control of fertility expresses itself in three ways: (1) in the practice of contraception, (2) in resort to induced abortion, and (3) in variations in frequency of coitus. Recent researches under the auspices of the Milbank Memorial Fund have shown the importance of voluntary control of fertility in producing variations in the birth rate. Professor Raymond Pearl, in his study of 30,000 women who came to hospitals to bear children, found no significant differences in age specific pregnancy rates by social class or color among women who had never practiced contra-

⁶ Regine K. Stix, "A Study of Pregnancy Wastage," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 13, Oct. 1935, 347-365.

ception. In his second progress report on a selected sample,⁷ he showed that the prevalence and effectiveness of contraception were directly correlated with economic status in the group studied, and that the differences in pregnancy rates in that group were the result of these variations in contraceptive practice. Pearl estimates on the basis of his findings that 50 to 60 percent of white married couples in cities east of the Mississippi and north of the southernmost tier of states practice contraception more or less regularly.

Contraception reduced pregnancy rates in Pearl's group by about 20 to 30 percent,⁸ even when inexpertly and intermittently practiced. In the New York study previously cited, (footnote 3) it was found that all contraception as practiced before contact with a birth control clinic reduced the risk of pregnancy by about 75 percent. Both of these figures relate to pregnancies in a given period of exposure to the risk of pregnancy. A more realistic method of expressing the effectiveness of contraception as practiced by the New York sample is to compare the total pregnancy rate for the first ten years of married life, which includes time pregnant as well as time exposed, for women who did and did not practice contraception from marriage. All pregnancies, including those planned, are included in the rate of the group which practiced contraception. The pregnancy rates are just twice as high for women practicing no contraception as for those who practiced contraception from marriage (Table II). In other words, women who practiced no contraception had about twice as many pregnancies in the same period of time as did women who practiced contraception.

Illegally induced abortion appears to be of considerable and growing importance in reducing the birth rate. It is impossible to estimate the prevalence of illegal abortion in this country, since, being a criminal offense, it is not reported. Taussig⁹ suggests that 680,000 abortions annually is a conservative estimate. Millar's studies in Cincinnati¹⁰ show that the abortion index increased much more rapidly than the birth index, in the group studied, between 1918 and 1932. A study of the proportion of pregnancies terminated by illegal abortion in the New York group cited above showed that nearly one-fourth of all pregnancies were so terminated. This proportion varied with religion, the Catholic group having the lowest percentage of induced abortion. The proportion of pregnancies terminated by illegal abortion increased directly with length of married life, an observation which is duplicated in other clinic studies,¹¹ and there

⁷ Raymond Pearl, "Contraception and Fertility in 4,945 Married Women. A Second Report on a Study of Family Limitation," *Human Biology*, 6, May 1934, 355-401.

⁸ Raymond Pearl, "Third Progress Report on a Study of Family Limitation," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 14, July 1936, 1-27.

⁹ Frederick J. Taussig, *Abortion, Spontaneous and Induced*, St. Louis, The C. V. Mosby Company, 1936, p. 26.

¹⁰ Wm. Millar, "Human Abortion," *Human Biology*, 6, May 1934, 271-307.

¹¹ Marie E. Kopp, *Birth Control in Practice*, N. Y., Robert M. McBride and Company, 1934.

is definite evidence of an increase of illegal abortion in the group studied within the last five or ten years. (See reference 6 above.)

There are no reliable data on the relation of coital frequency to variations in fertility. This is probably partially due to the fact that couples do not know their average frequency of coitus. Reliable data have been obtained for a few couples from calendar records kept by those couples over a period of months or years. These have been made mainly in connection with isolated studies of sterility and of the so-called "safe period" and have not been correlated with fertility. In the New York study previously cited, the women interviewed reported coital frequency immediately after marriage and at interview. Obviously, the reporting of coital frequency immediately after a marriage which took place from one to twenty-five years before the interview is subject to wide error. However, it was assumed that this would be somewhat more accurate than the reporting of any

TABLE II. PREGNANCY RATES PER 10 YEARS OF MARRIED LIFE
FOR WOMEN MARRIED 0-9 YEARS^a

Order of Pregnancy	No Contraception Practiced			Contraception Practiced ^b		
	Yrs. Mar.	No. Preg.	Rate	Yrs. Mar.	No. Preg.	Rate
Total	452.3	307	6.8	2218.9	747	3.4
1st pregnancy	121.3	106	8.7	620.0	320	5.2
2nd and succeeding pregnancies	331.0	201	6.1	1598.9	427	2.7

^a From the pre-clinic records of 991 women who attended the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City (pathological cases included).

^b Includes interruption of contraceptive practice for planned pregnancies.

other coital frequency except that at interview. A tabulation of the mean interval between marriage and the first conception by coital frequency, when no contraception was practiced, is shown in Table III. There is a slight but not significant shortening of the interval with increasing coital frequency. A study of post-clinic pregnancy rates by coital frequency at interview showed little or no relation between coital frequency and pregnancy rates since, although the information on coital frequency was probably relatively accurate, all the couples studied were practicing contraception of varying types and with varying degrees of effectiveness at that time. It appears that coital frequency has little or no effect on variations in fertility, but conclusive evidence on this point must await more accurate and extensive study.

All available data point to contraception and induced abortion as the most important causes of variations in fertility. Figure 2, from Notestein and Kiser, shows "pregnancy rates for four different periods of married life. The rate for each period has been broken down to show the proportion of resulting pregnancies terminated by live births, criminal abortions and other (involuntary) pregnancy wastage. The pregnancy rates decline

with advancing duration of marriage, due largely to the increased use and effectiveness of contraception. But the birth rates decline even more rapidly because of the increase in criminal abortions . . .¹² This figure shows also that involuntary pregnancy wastage has little effect on the birth rate and does not vary with length of married life.

TABLE III. MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND FIRST CONCEPTION FOR WOMEN PRACTICING NO CONTRACEPTION, BY COITAL FREQUENCY IMMEDIATELY AFTER MARRIAGE^a

Coital Frequency Immediately after Marriage	No. Women	Mean No. Months before Conception
Total	479	4.4
1×wk. or less	45	4.6
2-3×wk.	212	4.7
4-6×wk.	121	4.3
7×wk. or more	101	3.7

^a From the pre-clinic records of 991 women who attended the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City (pathological cases included).

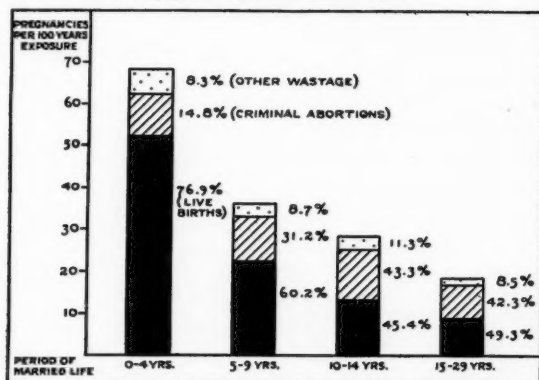


Figure II.—Pregnancy rates and distribution of pregnancy terminations by type in specified periods of married life. (Pre-clinic experience of patients of a birth control clinic.)

Research now in progress should give us new and valuable information on the physiology of reproduction. Until we know more about this subject, the interpretation of material concerning involuntary infertility will be difficult. Hartman's studies of ovulation in monkeys, showing, among other things, the frequency of anovulatory menstruation in these animals, impress us anew with our lack of knowledge concerning human ovulation. In the field of endocrinology, interesting work is being done in many sections of the country which is adding greatly to our knowledge of the physi-

¹² Frank W. Notestein and Clyde V. Kiser, "Factors Affecting Variations in Human Fertility," *Social Forces*, 14, Oct. 1935, 32-41.

ology and pathology of fertility. These researches have been largely confined to animal experimentation, but it is to be hoped that some of the techniques contrived will be applicable to human study before long.

Comparatively little is known concerning the physiology of reproduction, and even less is known about the effect of pathology in producing infertility. Information concerning the latter might be obtained by enlisting the support of a group of obstetricians and gynecologists who would be willing to keep simple, uniform fertility histories in connection with medical histories. Such a series of records might yield valuable information concerning the relative incidence of sterility or infertility in relation to certain pathological processes. For example, in addition to knowing what percentage of sterility cases was due to tubal infection, it would be possible to learn how frequently sterility or infertility is found in a known number of cases of tubal infection—a question which needs to be answered for all types of pathology.

From the point of view of the sociologist and the student of population problems, the need of several field studies of immediate and practical interest is apparent. One is a study of the relative incidence of voluntary and involuntary childlessness in representative population groups. Direct evidence of the amount of involuntary sterility in a group might be obtained by a follow-up study of women who had reported in previous surveys that they had no children. Techniques of approach would have to be devised which would elicit information concerning whether these women had ever been pregnant and whether, from their own point of view, their childlessness was voluntary or involuntary.

In addition to the material being studied by Professor Pearl and the clinic studies already in progress, it is important to know the prevalence and effectiveness of contraception in a population group unselected with respect to fertility or a special interest in contraception. It has been impossible thus far to devise techniques for selecting or interviewing such a group. A study of this type would presumably yield valuable information concerning childless as well as fertile couples.

A great deal of further research must be done before we know very much about the medical aspects of fertility. Variations in fertility have been studied mainly from the sociological point of view and the whole problem has been somewhat neglected by the medical profession until recently. It is to be hoped that the recent awakening of interest on the part of sociologists and of a number of prominent physicians will furnish the impetus for further research in this field. Such researches are of vital importance to a positive attack on the problem of a falling birth rate and the possibility of a widening social class differential.

SUMMARY

1. Recent scientific interest has been directed toward determining the causes of variations in the birth rates, since present differentials indicate

that our future population will be recruited largely from unskilled labor and agricultural groups.

2. The incidence of involuntary sterility and infertility in selected population groups is unknown. Study of a small, selected group suggests that the increasing incidence of pathology with advancing age is an important factor in the decline in fertility, when contraception is not practiced.

3. The incidence of involuntary pregnancy wastage, in a selected group of women, shows no change with age or religion and has been approximately the same for the past twenty-five years.

4. Voluntary control of fertility by means of contraception and induced abortion is responsible for major variations in pregnancy and birth rates. The prevalence of both factors has increased in the last twenty-five years in a selected group.

5. Further researches on the physiology of fertility and the incidence of sterility are needed before the causes of variations in fertility can be adequately interpreted.

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RESEARCH IN CAUSES OF VARIATIONS IN FERTILITY: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS*

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Recent Research Findings. A survey of population research in this country shows that certain social indices are significantly correlated with fertility rates. The more frequently studied relations may be briefly stated as follows:

1. There is a negative relation between fertility rates and the degree of urbanization of a given population.¹
2. There is a negative relation between fertility rates and position in the social-economic scale as indexed by income and occupational status.² This of course must be immediately qualified by stating that the relation is probably not linear. There is some evidence that the sub-dependent groups, the "negative elite" have a low fertility rate;³ that the white collar clerical class has a lower fertility than classes below and above them in the scale;⁴ and that the very high status groups have higher birth rates than the classes just below them.⁵ Moreover, in some of the European countries there appears to be some tendency for the relation to reverse itself and for the lower social-economic groups to be less fertile than the upper groups.⁶ However, in this country the general relation of higher fertility in the lower social-economic groups and lower fertility in the upper groups holds true for the present.⁷
3. Closely related to the findings with respect to social-economic status is the fact that occupational rank is negatively related to fertility rates.⁸
4. Another frequently cited relation which seems closely connected with

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¹ S. R. Winston, "Social Factors Affecting Fertility," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 35, 1930, 753-764. W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, pp. 96-114. F. W. Notestein, "Social Classes and the Birth Rate," *The Survey*, 66, April 1931, 38-39. T. J. Woofter, Jr., "The Natural Increase of the Rural Non-farm Population," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 13 (4), Oct. 1935, 311-19. P. K. Whelpton, "Geographic and Economic Differential in Fertility," *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.* 188, Nov. 1936, 37-55.

² F. W. Notestein and X. Sallume, "Trends in Size of Families Completed Prior to 1910 in Various Social Classes," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 38, 1933, 398-408. Also S. R. Winston, *op. cit.*

³ Abraham Myerson, *Inheritance of Mental Diseases*, p. 81.

⁴ Warren S. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-114 and 126-27.

⁵ J. V. Phillips, "Success and the Birth Rate," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, June 1927. F. A. Woods, "Successful Men Have Larger Families," *Jour. of Heredity*, 19, 1928, 271-279.

⁶ Karl A. Edin and Edward P. Hutchinson, *Studies of Differential Fertility in Sweden*. See also A. M. Carr-Saunders in the *Economic Journal*, December, 1927; A. J. Barnouw, "The Differential Birth Rate in Holland," *Birth Control Review*, 16, March 1932, 81-82.

⁷ F. W. Notestein, "Class Differences in Fertility," *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 188, Nov. 1936, 26-36.

⁸ Cf. materials cited above under the discussion of social-economic status.

the foregoing is the negative correlation between educational achievement and fertility rates.⁹

5. There appears to be a negative relation between fertility rates and the indices of social-economic emancipation of women.¹⁰

Other correlations have been studied but these will suffice for the present discussion.

With the types of fertility studies cited above as a background it is appropriate to raise the question of whether or not we can be more specific in our statements about the nature of the relations found. It is highly important both from a scientific and a practical standpoint that we study the co-variations of indices of urbanization and fertility rates or indices of social-economic status and fertility rates and so on. But all of us have experienced the desire to know more about the actual processes by which our various independent variables affect the dependent variable on which our interest is focused. For example, our explanations and interpretations of the fluctuations in fertility remain incomplete until we are able to state more explicitly what is indexed by rates of urbanization and how the factors so indicated actually affect attitudes and behavior with reference to child begetting and rearing. It is at this point that we sense a need for investigation of the social psychological aspects of differential fertility. Unfortunately, when confronted by such research problems the social psychologist is like the little boy the calf ran over—he doesn't have much to say. Nevertheless, it is a healthy experience for him to be pushed into this field of research. That social psychological study is a necessary part of the attack on the problem is well illustrated by the position taken by some students of population who are somewhat concerned about the falling birth rate. These students, seeing the negative direction of birth rate trends in cities, urge a public program encouraging people to settle in rural sections, the assumption being that this will scotch the decline. To the social psychologist, this need not be the case. The locus of habitation may and probably does prove to be merely an index of certain social psychological factors which need not and probably would not change with a change of physical position. The psychological factors might operate whether the person lived in a city or not.

The problem then is one of isolating the significant psychological factors which are apparently more likely to operate in urban situations, but which may under certain conditions operate in rural environments as well.

The same kind of statement might be made of each of the relations noted in the beginning.

This paper is not designed to offer a systematic plan of research in the

⁹ J. C. Phillips, *op. cit.* S. R. Winston, *op. cit.* A. J. Lotka, "Sterility in American Marriage," *Proceedings Nat. Acad. Sci.*, 1928. R. E. Baber and E. A. Ross, *Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 10, 1924. W. A. Rollins, "The Fertility of College Graduates," *Jour. of Heredity*, 20, 1929, 425-427.

¹⁰ W. S. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130. Cf. also works cited in footnote on education.

social psychology of differential fertility. Even if the allotted time were sufficient the state of knowledge in the field would allow little more than suggestions for exploratory work. Accepting the limitations for what they are, it is nevertheless desirable that we should discuss hunches and exploratory suggestions as a preliminary to more systematic planning of research along new lines. The remainder of this paper will consist chiefly of such suggestions and tentative interpretations which have been drawn from the scattered relevant literature and the writer's own social psychological work in the fields of marriage and of personality.

Interpretation and Suggestions. 1. A problem for interpretation and further research along social psychological lines is suggested by the relations summarized at the beginning of this paper. The negative relations between fertility rates and urbanization, social-economic status, occupation, education and the emancipation of women, point to the following possible interpretation: In the highly individualizing competition so characteristic of our culture, the self becomes very much over valued and the resulting personality organization is inimical to the motivations and satisfactions related to child begetting and child rearing. This drift toward a narcissistic over valuation of the self and its demands on the environment, which is a reflection of the cultural milieu, suggests at least three hypotheses which need testing.

a. The successful asserters of narcissistic demands, that is those who rise to the upper part of a given pyramid, have fewer children than the rank and file. This is true of our general economic pyramid, but it can be argued that the upper economic groups achieved their footing because they were not handicapped by children. Our point here is that the individualistic competitive person who strives to out-do, or to be or to have, the best is not the person who has children to as great an extent as one who is not so intense in his valuation of the self. This point could be partially checked by studying the relative fertility rates of the elite and rank and file in all kinds of pyramids—community leaders, "chronic" leaders of various groups, labor leaders, etc., compared with the rates of their respective rank and file members. The less economic the pyramid, the better for such a study.

An opposing point might be advanced, namely, that those who rise to the top of some skill or value pyramid are not narcissistic personalities but may possess skills which lead others to make large demands on their time and energies or to promote them to positions which call for rather complete investment of themselves in the work. Hence a low investment in reproductive and parental activities need not indicate a narcissistic personality organization in such cases. Both this and the hypothesis suggested above need to be tested by research; and both may be valid descriptions of the facts.

b. The energy expended in winning and holding a valued position for

the self and the satisfactions attendant upon extracting deference and goods from the larger environment leave less libidinal energy available for reproduction and less need for the intimate affectional gratifications through marital and parental relations.¹¹ This is partly indicated in the differential coitus rate reported by Pearl.¹² He finds that the average frequency of coitus per month for farmers is 12.6; for merchants and bankers, 10.8; and for professional men, 8.8. This differential not only indicates a lowered probability of fertilization, but may indicate a lowered genital libidinal capacity on the one hand or a lowered genital libidinal need on the other for persons higher in the status scale.

The same interpretation is suggested by a few of my own detailed studies of marriages. A fairly frequent situation found in such materials is the completely absorbed husband whose wife complains that he seems to have lost much of his interest in sexual or parental activity. The wife in such cases may seek other activities or increasingly desire children or develop neurotic behavior, or find direct gratification in extra marital relations. Willoughby has irreverently pointed to the small sized families of advocates of large families;¹³ and this may be taken as another illustration of the sublimating propensities of the professional and other middle class groups.

In this connection the suggestion has been made that the intense competitive activities of the "striving classes" pile up "nervous tensions" that will inhibit sex desire or on the other hand require recurrent periods of intensive sexual activity. Careful study of the frequency of and the activities that make up the "binges," "celebrations," etc., of various classes in the population might throw light on this point.

Along with these fragments of factual materials must be mentioned the possible potency value of children for those who have little or no comparative position or accomplishment by which to index their adequacy. Conversation with persons whose standing and accomplishments have a low rating in their milieu sometimes reveal that the number of progeny is to them a sign of relative adequacy. I have sometimes noted this attitude in persons who have been out-distanced in life by their siblings. Families are frequently incensed by the high fertility rates of their "unsuccessful" members, since the family frequently has to share the economic burden of caring for these symbols of potency.

Obviously we need much more statistical and case-study material on these questions, before any validity can be assigned to such speculations.

¹¹ See F. H. Hankins, "Has the Reproductive Power of Western Peoples Declined?," in *Problems of Population*, ed. by G. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, London, 1932.

¹² R. Pearl, "Biological Factors in Fertility," *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 188, Nov. 1936, 14-25. Cf. also O. L. Harvey, "A Note on the Frequency of Human Coitus," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 38, 1932, 64-70.

¹³ R. R. Willoughby, "The Small Families of Large Family Advocates," *Jour. Soc. Psych.*, 1, 1930, 318-319.

c. A third hypothesis may be stated as follows: Our great emphasis on individualized competition inevitably produces an excessive amount of neurotic personality structures. As Horney says, "The problem of competition, or rivalry, appears to be a never failing center of neurotic conflicts."¹⁴ Now neurotic solutions of life situations are essentially narcissistic in the sense that the conflict relations get introjected into the personality and much of the person's energy and attention is consciously and unconsciously directed toward himself. Thus it might be hypothesized that the tendency to neurotic solutions of the competitive problems is inimical to the development of a personality organization which includes parenthood as one of its major functions. This suggestion is based on the very limited number of case studies I have been able to make. It is interesting to note, however, that of this small number, most of the marriages in which there was a markedly neurotic person were childless. What is more, in a few instances when therapeutic work was done, a clearing up of the neurotic difficulties was accompanied by the determination to start having children. I am not willing, nor is there any call for me to say that neurotic personalities have fewer children than others. But it does appear that some research along the line of relative fertility among the neurotic and non-neurotic might be undertaken.

In this connection it should be noted that neurotic personalities are usually infantile and in many respects seem to be seeking to force the environment to allow them to occupy an indulged role without their having to assume responsibilities.

Children usually produce important shifts in the personality organization of adults. At least this is true of the reasonably healthy personality, and frequently of the person who has remained at a rather immature level.

The profound reorganization of personality that may come with a new member in a marriage relation is suggested by the scattered observations on the effect of adoption of a child on sterile marriages. Certain sterile types have apparently become fruitful by "induction" when they adopt a child. Perkins suggests that the sterility in such cases may be due to over anxiety for children. According to Perkins, "inhibiting the function of the thyroid by emotional stress or other conditions is . . . at least one . . . factor in infertility."¹⁵

The probabilities are that chronic anxiety tensions of neurotic conflict origin rather than specific anxieties for children operate to affect the organism in some such way as he suggests. Speculation as to how certain of these neurotic conflicts may be solved or minimized by foster parenthood with the accompanying fertility would be profitable if time allowed. However, one may be fairly certain that careful analysis of such cases would throw much light on the social psychology of fertility and infertility.

¹⁴ Karen Horney, "Culture and Neurosis," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1, Apr. 1936, 221-235.

¹⁵ H. F. Perkins, "Adoption and Fertility," *Eugenical News*, 21, Sept.-Oct. 1936, 95-101

2. Another problem for research in this field can be stated as follows. To what extent has the weakening of puritanic taboos on sex allowed more complete sexual and affectional satisfaction in marriage relations; and in turn to what extent has this greater gratification lessened the need for children as objects of affectional expression. The study of the use by parents of their children as means of satisfaction of their frustrated libidinal needs suggests this as an important problem in the theoretical if not practical aspects of differential fertility.

This question is suggested also by certain results of a study of 526 married couples which Prof. E. W. Burgess and the writer have made.¹⁶ This sample had been married from one to six years. Over 70 percent had been married from 2 to 4 years. This group showed a higher fertility for the poorly adjusted than for the well adjusted groups. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1. RELATION BETWEEN MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENT SCORE AND FERTILITY RATES
(ONE TO SIX YEARS MARRIED).

Marriage Adjustment Score	Children per 100 Couples	Average Children per Year Married	Percent Childless	Number Couples
20-79	58.0	.19	53.2	62
80-119	71.6	.25	54.5	88
120-159	65.1	.20	52.5	149
160-199	47.4	.18	59.9	224

If the two lower adjustment score groups are combined into one group and the two upper into another, the fertility rate for the low adjustment group is 66.0 children per 100 couples and the average children per year married is .224. For the high adjustment score group the fertility rate is 57.1 and the average children per year married is .192. Not enough is known of these couples to say whether or not the greater satisfaction in the relation minimized the felt need for children. Moreover, the difference in the fertility rates of these two groups is only 1.19 times the error of the difference. Hence, nothing conclusive can be stated on the nature of this relation between adjustment score and number of children. However, the findings, together with the clinical observations cited above, open up a field of relevant research on the social psychology of fertility. Further study should be made of the relation between children and adjustment in the early years of married life with as many other variables held constant as possible.

3. Another problem for research which has interest to the social psychologist is the relation between the psychological relations in the early family

¹⁶ E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," (unpublished material). A preliminary report is found in an article, "The Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1, Oct. 1936, 737-751. This study was of a fairly homogeneous middle class, urban, native-white sample of couples who has been married not less than one nor more than six years.

experience of the person and his tendency to become a parent. One way to get at this is to study the fertility rates of persons in the different positions in the order of birth. This is necessarily crude, however, as social-psychological position or role in the modern family is not always by any means indicated by birth order positions. With this qualification recognized it may be worth while to study the fertility rates of birth order positions. While some attention has been given to personality characteristics of only, oldest, middle and youngest children, practically nothing is known of their characteristic reproductive rates.

Stein reports a study of the fertility of only child heiresses in England.¹⁷ According to his report the average woman has about eight to ten chances in a hundred of being sterile while the only child heiresses had almost 40 chances in a hundred of being sterile and the chances that they would have more than one child were only 34.5 in a hundred.

In the study of 526 middle class couples referred to above¹⁸ somewhat different results were obtained.

The following table gives the fertility rates for couples in which a husband or wife is an only, oldest, middle or youngest child.

TABLE 2. FERTILITY RATES FOR ONLY, OLDEST, MIDDLE AND YOUNGEST CHILDREN
(FOR MARRIAGES OF ONE TO SIX YEARS DURATION)

Position in Birth Order	Children per 100 Couples		Average Children per Year Married		Percent Childless		Number of Cases	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Only child	63.5	51.8	.23	.17	52.4	55.4	63	56
Oldest child	53.2	51.5	.18	.18	58.5	57.5	128	132
Middle child	62.5	60.0	.23	.22	53.0	53.7	155	175
Youngest child	45.1	68.0	.16	.24	62.4	50.0	122	100

It will be seen that in our sample the couples with wives who are only and middle children are more fertile than those in which the wives are oldest or youngest children. The least fertile are those with wives who are youngest children. The "birth order fertility" of husbands is different. Couples with husbands who are only or oldest children are considerably less fertile than those with husbands who are middle or youngest children. Those with youngest child husbands are apparently the most fertile. We do not have time to go into possible social-psychological interpretations of these facts. Moreover, the sample is too small to furnish more than a lead for further research. None of the observed differences are more than 1.7 times the error of the difference. However, there may possibly be significant

¹⁷ C. F. Stein, Jr., "Comparative Fertility of the Only Child," *Jour. of Heredity*, 17, 1926, 169-171.

¹⁸ E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., *op. cit.*

social psychological factors operating to produce the difference noted.¹⁹ The effect of birth order on personality is as yet not established and the evidence is somewhat conflicting on the personality effects.²⁰ The only-child studies of 25-40 years ago indicated that he was more likely to be a problem personality than others. Recent studies done on children do not support the former conclusions. Possibly parents of one child are more aware of the hazards and have more substitute family facilities available than the parents of a generation ago.

Recent studies indicate that the oldest child has special personality hazards that may have a bearing on his fertility rate.²¹

4. The social psychological effects of a declining fertility rate is a field that merits much more intensive research than it has yet received. The time allows for only a bare mention of some of the more interesting problems along this line. They may be stated in the form of questions. Some of these may suggest practicable research problems.

(1) What differences in personality development and organization result from large and small family mileux? Research on the kinds and amounts of personality problems presented by people from different sized families of comparable social economic characteristics is greatly needed.

(2) To what extent does childlessness call out peculiar adjustments of personalities as they pass the age limits of reproduction?

a. What effective substitutes do people find for children?

b. Do childless persons feel any sense of loss in being deprived of what Thompson calls "participation in the future"?

c. If so, what immortality substitutes do they seize upon?

d. How do the social and political attitudes of childless men and women, particularly those who have passed the reproductive age, compare with those of parents of comparable age?

e. Has the loss of a large familistic group with its own history, traditions, place and other symbols of identification intensified the general insecurity which seems to drive people to seek the security of new mass symbols of identification?

Even more fruitful research suggestions will doubtless occur to the reader. But enough has been said to show that there are many important though difficult lines of investigation in the social psychological aspects of differential fertility. If this paper has been too discursive and too little limited by rigorous research principles, indulgence is asked in the name of the rights of the frontiersman who must fashion his house out of what materials the untamed environment furnishes.

¹⁹ Further material on this point will be forthcoming as a research note in the *Journal of Social Psychology*.

²⁰ For a good summary of birth order studies see H. E. Jones, "Order of Birth," article in 2nd ed. of *Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison, pp. 551-589.

²¹ See H. E. Jones, *op. cit.* See also, H. H. Berman, "Order of Birth in Manic Depressive Reactions," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 7, 1933, 430 ff.

DEPRESSION AND PRE-DEPRESSION MARRIAGE RATES: A PHILADELPHIA STUDY*

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Problems. "When business is good, marriage and divorce rates go up. When business is bad, they go down." In these words, Stouffer and Spencer summarized their own studies of marriage and divorce rate in recent years, as well as the studies of Thomas, Sorokin, Ogburn and others.¹

Most of the studies of marriage rates leave unanswered, however, two very important groups of questions. First, are these fluctuations in the general marriage rate distributed evenly in the population, or do they vary from one population element to another? During the recent depression for example, when the marriage rate as a whole fell, did it fall evenly in all classes and groups, did it fall in some and not in others, did it even rise in some while falling in others? Second, if such variations exist, how are they related to group differentials? What factors seem to determine such variations? It must be evident that such differentials in marriage rates, if they exist, are of very great importance in the study of family and population problems.

Methodology. This study represents an effort to answer these questions on the basis of the experience of Philadelphia, whose population of almost two million made it the third largest city in the United States in 1930. The study is based upon 20,000 marriages, in which the male lived in Philadelphia at the time of the marriage. In point of time, the 20,000 marriages are grouped about the census year 1930. Ten thousand of these were consecutive cases from January 1, 1928, to November 1, 1929; the other 10,000 covered the periods November 1, 1931 to July 1, 1932; October 1, 1932 to March 1, 1933; and January 2, 1935 to May 15, 1935. The first series are henceforth referred to as the predepression series; the latter, as the depression series. The data utilized were taken from the Philadelphia Marriage License Bureau, and from the bureaus of nearby towns and Gretna Greens to which marrying Philadelphians are wont at times to resort.

* This study has been made possible by a grant from the Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Harlin Loomer and Mr. Richard Garnet are responsible for the charts utilized. The author is indebted to Misses Ann B. Flynn, Gertrude Stainton, Miriam Craig and Emily Orchard for help in the conduct of the investigation and the preparation of this report.

¹ Samuel A. Stouffer, and Lyle M. Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, Nov. 1936, 56; Dorothy Thomas, *Social Aspects of Business Cycles*, London, 1925; Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1928; W. F. Ogburn, "Recent Changes in Marriage," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, Nov. 1935, 296 et. seq. See also Clyde V. Kiser, "Recent Analyses of Marriage Rates," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 15, July 1937, 262-274.

The method utilized was to locate the address of each male Philadelphian marrying during these periods, and to consign him to the census tract in which he resided. The number of men marrying in the two series was totalled by census tracts. This number was then compared with the total number of single, widowed and divorced males in each census tract, as given by the census of 1930, and the number of marriages per 1,000 such marriageable males computed per tract for each series of 10,000 cases. In other words, the marriage rates employed are the number of marriages in each series per 1,000 marriageable males, by census tracts. There were, in 1930, a total of 305,716 such marriageable males in Philadelphia, and a total of 404 census tracts.

The population of institutions and military posts was included in the census tabulation of 1930 as a part of the population of the city, township, or other political area in which the institution or post is located. This is true also of census tracts. Since institutional populations formed an appreciable proportion of the marriageable males in certain census tracts, ten such census tracts were eliminated from the study.

Age Distribution. It is proper to face at this point another and perhaps more important question concerning the data which suggests itself to the statistically minded student. This is the factor of the age distribution of the marriageable males.

Marriage, as everyone knows, is customarily one of the luxuries of youth. In a study of 13,449 Philadelphia marriages in 1931, I have shown that 48.7 percent of the men marrying were under 26 years of age, and 77 percent were under 32 years. More than four-fifths, 82.1 percent, were between 20 and 34 years old.² Obviously, then, appreciable variations in the age make-up of the marriageable males would affect per se our marriage rates.

In the absence of a census tabulation of marriageable males by age groupings, two methods were utilized to throw light on this point. One consisted of a sample contrast. Two census tracts with widely different marriage rates were selected. Mr. Leon Truesdale of the Census Bureau kindly consented to make a hand tabulation of the age make-up of the marriageable males in these two tracts. The two tracts were 28 B, with 1423 marriageable males and a marriage rate of 103.3; and 40 F, with 1188 marriageable males and a marriage rate of 42.9. In tract 28 B, 45.1 percent of the marriageable males were between 20 and 34 years of age; in 40 F, the percentage was 44.2. In other words, in this sample contrast, the age factor seems to have virtually no importance at all.

The second method utilized was to analyze by census tracts the age distribution of all males, whether single or not. One hundred and sixteen census tracts, each with more than a thousand marriageable males and none with

² James H. S. Bossard, "The Age Factor in Marriage," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, Jan. 1933, 536-547.

any appreciable institutional population were selected and the percentages of all males between 20 and 34 years were calculated. These percentages varied from 19.0 to 41.9—a considerable range. Classified for frequency, it was found that 11 of the 116 tracts had 30 or more percent of their males in this age group; in 59 tracts the range was from 25 to 29.9 percent; in 45 tracts, from 20 to 24.9 percent; and in one tract, under 20 percent. In other words, in 104 of the 116 tracts the range was 10 percent or less; in 59 tracts, the range was 5 percent or less.

If a similar range of percentages obtains for the marriageable males as does for all males, it would appear that the age factor may be disregarded in most tracts, and needs to be considered only in the case of tracts with marked deviations. While this inference seems reasonable, it must be admitted that the lack of data on the age distribution of marriageable males, by census tracts, is a significant omission. On the other hand, the study deals with marriageable males, and the season remains open on them whatever their age. Moreover, if an undue proportion of older unmarried men, averse to the matrimonial yoke, tend to gravitate into certain sections, this, after all, is a part of the ecological picture.

Basis of the Present Paper. To facilitate presentation, this paper will confine itself to the presentation and analysis of the data of the two marriage series for those census tracts in which there were, in 1930, more than 500 marriageable males, and in which there were no institutional populations of any appreciable size. There were 182 such census tracts. In them were 86 percent of the marriageable males in the city, and 88.7 percent of the marriages tabulated.

Comparisons and Findings. We are now in a position to turn to the first question raised in this study: did marriage rates change uniformly in all parts of Philadelphia during the depression period? A comparison of the predepression and depression series, by census tracts, shows that they did not. Of the 182 tracts, the rate remained the same in five tracts; in 95 tracts, the depression rate was lower than the predepression rate; in 82 tracts, the depression rate was higher than the predepression rate. Nor were the differences small in a large number of tracts, as shown by Table I.

Summarizing this table in another way, in 45 percent of the tracts the marriage rates rose during the depression (in 29 percent more than five points and in 15 percent more than 10 points); in 52 percent of the tracts, they fell during the depression (in almost 30 percent, by more than five points, and in 14 percent, by more than ten points).

Analysis and Interpretation. The changes in marriage rates so far identified have been in terms of census tracts, i.e., geographical areas. These areas, however, are occupied by people, so that we pass naturally to our second question: do these different changes in marriage rates correspond with group differentials, i.e., with differences between the people living and

TABLE I. CHANGES IN MARRIAGE RATES, BY CENSUS TRACTS, FROM PREDEPRESSION TO DEPRESSION SERIES

Change in Rates	Number of Tracts
No change	5
Depression rates lower	95
Decline 0-4.9 points	41
Decline 5-9.9 points	28
Decline 10-14.9 points	16
Decline 15-19.9 points	6
Decline 20 or more points	4
Depression rates higher	82
Increase 0-4.9 points	29
Increase 5-9.9 points	26
Increase 10-14.9 points	18
Increase 15-19.9 points	
Increase 20 or more points	3

marrying in these tracts? What, in other words, is the explanation in social terms for the differences in the changes between these two series of marriage rates?

As a first step in this interpretative analysis, various facts about these tracts were gathered from the census and from a rather elaborate work relief survey of the city made in 1934. These facts included sex ratio in the marriageable population, prevailing type of building structure, mobility of population, percentage of home ownership, value of owner occupied dwellings, rentals paid, nativity and dominant nationality or race of marriageable males. Coefficients of correlation were then computed between changes in the marriage rates and these variables. The results of this work were rather negligible except for race and nationality differentials. These definitely appeared to play an important role. Following this lead, a good deal of detailed work, statistical and otherwise, was done, all of which tended to emphasize the marked relationship between nativity, nationality and race differentials, on the one hand, and the differentials in marriage rates between the two series, on the other hand. Since the limitations of this paper make impossible the presentation of all of this work, three illustrative and significant phases of it are selected for brief presentation at this point.

(1) First, a broad classification of the 182 tracts, by extent of change in marriage rates from the predepression to the depression series, reveals parallel changes in the race and nativity make-up of the marriageable males in these classes or groupings of tracts. Table II presents this data in detail. A study of this table shows that as one moves from the census tracts in which the depression marriage rates were markedly higher than the pre-

TABLE II. 182 CENSUS TRACTS, CLASSIFIED BY EXTENT OF CHANGE, AND BY RACE AND NATIVITY OF MARRIEAGEABLE MALES

Groups	Pre-Depression Rates	Change	Total Number Marriageable Males	Native-Born White of Native-Born White Parents (%)	Native-Born White of Foreign-Born Parents (%)	Foreign-Born		Other Colored (%)
						White (%)	Negro (%)	
9 tracts in which depression rates were 15 or more points higher than predepression rates.....	33.8	+20.7	12,136	20.2	43.3	21.4	14.6	*
18 tracts in which depression rates were 10-14.9 points higher.....	33.0	+12.7	22,043	30.9	37.2	16.7	14.4	*
26 tracts in which depression rates were 5-9.9 points higher.....	32.4	+ 6.7	44,165	29.9	34.8	15.9	19.0	*
75 tracts in which change of less than 5 points occurred....	32.1	- 0.5	113,030	36.6	36.2	16.0	10.7	*
28 tracts in which depression rates were 5-9.9 points lower.....	35.1	- 7.8	38,174	37.4	36.3	15.9	9.6	*
16 tracts in which depression rates were 10-14.9 points lower.....	35.1	-11.7	22,931	39.4	39.2	17.1	3.7	*
10 tracts in which depression rates were 15 or more points lower.....	42.2	-19.8	10,794	45.6	34.3	14.2	5.4	*
Total-182.....	33.7	-0.1	263,283	36.6	36.2	16.0	10.7	*

* Less than one percent

depression rates, to those tracts where the extreme opposite condition obtains, there occur marked changes also in the racial and nativity composition of the marriageable males in these groups of tracts. The percentage of native-born white of native-born white males increases; the percentage of immigrant stock, first and second generation, decreases as does also the percentage of Negroes. Unfortunately, the tabulation, by census tracts, of the marital status of the population, fifteen years of age and over, does not give us the nationality make-up of the foreign-born white and of the native-born white of foreign parentage. It is possible, however, to examine this composition, for all males by census tracts. Examination of these facts shows a rather marked shift in the composition of these two nativity elements. As one moves from the tracts where depression marriage rates are higher, to where they are lower, than the predepression rates, one moves also from national groupings of southern and eastern Europe to those from northern and western Europe. In other words, increases in marriage rates during the depression rate prevail as the proportion of Negroes and southern and eastern Europeans increases among the marriageable males.

(2) A second phase of our study to be presented involves a contrast between certain distinct areas, each contiguous and including a number of census tracts. Six such areas are selected: three with relatively low marriage rates during the predepression period, and three with relatively high predepression rates.

The first group consists of three areas, each rather distinctive and representing a definite sociological type. The first area comprises five census tracts, and constitutes the downtown zone of transition, adjacent to the central business district of the city on the north. Rooming houses predominate, and it is an area primarily of unmarried adults, preponderantly of adult males. There are in the area as a whole, 40 marriageable females for every 100 marriageable males. It is obvious that we are dealing with an area in which many selective processes operate to bring together adults, mostly men, who seem strikingly able to control their enthusiasm about matrimonial adventures. On a race and nativity basis, the population is widely distributed, with a preponderance of native-born whites of native-born white parentage, plus second generation German and Irish. The other two areas are wholly residential in character. One, in southwest Philadelphia, is a middle-class area, predominantly of old native stock, and, to a lesser extent, of second generation northwestern European stock. Occupationally, a relatively large proportion of its working population are found in the professional, semi-professional, and clerical groups. The other residential area, the third in this first group, is the Chestnut Hill section, occupied chiefly by people from the upper income groups. Three-fifths of the marriageable males in this area are native-born white of native-born white parentage and another thirty percent are native-born of foreign-born or mixed parentage, principally of northwestern European origin.

Table III presents the predepression and the depression marriage rates of these three areas, together with the race and nativity make-up of their marriageable males. It will be noted that the marriage rates of all three areas were low before the depression and went lower during the depression period.

In contrast are presented three well-defined and distinct areas in the city, each having a high predepression marriage rate, and each showing a higher rate for the depression series. One of these is a downtown area, next to the business and apartment house center of the city on the south. Its marriageable males are chiefly Negro, and with a considerable Italian ele-

TABLE III. SELECTED CONTIGUOUS LOW RATE AREAS, PRE-DEPRESSION AND DEPRESSION MARRIAGE RATES, AND RACE AND NATIVITY MAKE-UP OF THE MARRIAGEABLE

Area	Rates		Marriageable Males (%)				
	Pre-Depression	Depression	Native-Born White of Native-Born Parents	Native-Born White of Foreign-Born Parents	Foreign-Born		Other Colored
					White	Negro	
1. Downtown transition area; Tracts 11 B, 12 B, 13 B, 14 B, 15 B. (5,749 marriageable males).....	21.0	18.1	33.5	28.1	23.2	14.5	*
2. Middle class residential section: Tracts 40 C, 40 D, 46 E, F, G, I. (7,838 marriageable males).....	27.3	23.9	52.6	35.4	11.7	*	*
3. Chestnut Hill—High status residential area; Tracts 22 H-U, inclusive. (1,482 marriageable males).	24.3	21.6	55.1	28.5	12.7	3.3	*

* Less than one percent.

ment. About four-fifths of the buildings in this area are single dwelling structures, and another tenth are of the store and single dwelling type. Occupationally, a large percentage of the women in this area are employed, mostly in domestic service. The men are employed chiefly as waiters, in the building trades, or in unclassified occupations. The second area of this group is in northwest Philadelphia, with a mixture of Negroes, Italians and old native-white stock of low income status. The area is residential, and the percentages of women employed in domestic service, and of the men employed in unskilled occupations, are large. The third area is in north central Philadelphia, running due north from the area of transition. Its marriageable male population consists of Negroes, Russian Jews, some Irish and a small element of old native-white stock. Table IV identifies these areas by census tracts, contrasts the marriage rates in each area for the

two series, and gives the race and nativity make-up of the marriageable males.

(3) A third phase of our analysis, clearly significant, considers changes in marriage rates between the two series by specific race and nationality groups. When Negro, Russian Jewish, old native-stock, etc., areas are considered, what changes in marriage rates occur?

(a) *Negroes*. There are eight tracts in which there are more than 1,000 marriageable males, and in which more than half of these males are Negroes. In these tracts are 14,184 marriageable males. In 6 of them, the depression rate is higher than the predepression rate; in one, it is the same; in one, lower. The composite predepression rate for the eight tracts was 45.2; the depression rate, 52.4.

TABLE IV. SELECTED CONTIGUOUS HIGH RATE AREAS, PRE-DEPRESSION AND DEPRESSION MARRIAGE RATES, AND RACE AND NATIVITY MAKE-UP OF THE MARRIAGEABLE MALES

Area	Rates		Marriageable Males				
	Pre-Depression	Depression	Native-Born White of Native-Born Parents	Native-Born White of Foreign-Born Parents	Foreign-Born		Other Colored
					White	Negro	
1. Downtown area, next to business center on the south. Tracts 26 A, 30 A, 36 B. (5,958 marriageable males).....	50.2	53.0	4.8	18.1	6.1	69.8	1.1
2. West Philadelphia area, Tracts 34 P and Q. (3,561 marriageable males).....	49.8	53.3	27.2	24.5	10.0	37.7	*
3. North central area, Tracts 28 B, 32 D, and 47 B. (4,120 marriageable males).....	41.7	59.7	23.1	19.0	6.8	50.4	*

* Less than one percent.

(b) *Russians*. Most of the people in Philadelphia classified as of Russian nationality are Russian Jews. Seventeen census tracts were selected in which the native-born white of foreign parentage plus the foreign-born white predominated among the marriageable males, and in which Russians predominated overwhelmingly among all males in the tracts. In these tracts are 32,920 marriageable males. In 16 of them, the marriage rate rose during the depression. In one, a tract of higher economic status, it fell slightly. The composite predepression rate for the 17 tracts was 35.3; the depression rate was 45.4.

(c) *Italians*. Fourteen tracts were selected in which the marriageable males were predominantly of first and second generation immigrant ex-

traction, and in which Italians predominated among the male population in the tracts. In these tracts were 30,349 marriageable males. In five of the tracts, the depression rate was higher than the predepression rate; in one, the same; in eight, lower. The predepression composite rate was 36.4; the depression rate, 34.1.

(d) *The Irish*. The older immigrant groups, particularly the second generation element, are usually found in the census tracts predominantly of older native stock. Nevertheless, eight census tracts were found where the native born of foreign parentage and the foreign-born white elements predominated, and in which the Irish were dominant in those two elements. In these tracts are 12,157 marriageable males. In five of these tracts the marriage rate fell during the depression; in three, it remained unchanged. The composite predepression rate was 30.9; the depression rate, 26.3.

(e) *Native-Born Whites of Native-Born White Parentage*. Twenty-seven tracts, each with more than a thousand marriageable males, and with more than half of them of old native stock, were separately tabulated. In these tracts there were 44,932 marriageable males. In 17 of the 27 tracts, the marriage rate fell during the depression, the largest drops being in the middle class and downtown areas; in two tracts, the rate remained the same; in eight tracts, it was higher. In seven of the eight tracts where it was higher, the difference was very slight. Taking the 27 tracts as a whole, the predepression rate was 31.7; the depression rate 28.2.

Conclusions and Theory. Two major conclusions emerge from the foregoing analyses: 1. The effect of a major depression upon marriage rates is not uniform for all groups or classes in the population, so far as the experience of one large city is concerned. In some areas and classes they fell during the depression; in some, they rose; in still others, they remained stationary. Moreover, the changes in many areas are appreciable.

2. Marked variations seem to coincide with changes in the racial and nationality make-up of the marriageable males. So far as Philadelphia is concerned, the conclusion is inescapable that the presence in large proportions of Negroes, Russian Jews, and, to a lesser extent, of Italians, among the marriageable males of areas in the city, coincide with a rise in the marriage rates of those areas during the depression; while a preponderance of older native-white stock, and of northern and western European stock, coincides with a lowering of the rates.

When one essays the task of interpreting these variations and their striking coincidence with race and nationality changes, one treads upon treacherous ground. Obviously race and nationality are not simple or direct factors, but rather are shorthand terms of identification for a whole web or complex of social circumstances. Some of these may be matters of hereditary endowment; others, of social heritage, such as the deeply embedded tradition of family continuance among the Jews; still others are

phases of the socio-economic status of the group, such as the extensive employment of women among Negroes.

The thesis advanced here, by way of interpretation, is that of a fundamental and widespread conflict between the desire, on the one hand, to attain or to maintain a given plane of living; and the desire, on the other hand, to marry. Both are deeply rooted human drives. Many circumstances determine the resolution of this conflict in individual cases. On the whole, however, it is suggested that the older, more established groups tend, especially in any economic crisis like a depression, to give priority to the maintenance of their plane of living, thus postponing marriage. Status must be maintained, and if this is not possible in marriage, it is maintained without the marriage state.

On the other hand, in the newer, less established groups, and with those where a minimum plane of living is more or less passively accepted, the tendency appears to be to marry, regardless of its implications for the plane of living. Marriage, rather than a given plane of living, seems at least in certain groups, to be the status conferring condition. This would be particularly true in the case of the Russian Jews, where there is not only an age-old tradition of, and pressure for, family continuance, but where there is also religious teaching that enjoins marriage as a form of life completion. In fact, for such a group, marriage could well be sought as a solace and a compensation, as economic status declines. (It will be realized that this is not the same as the Roman Catholic injunction to have children, once marriage is consummated.)

3. Finally, this attempt at interpretation would not be complete without some reference to the possible effects of public unemployment relief upon the marriage rate in the depression years. No data bearing on the point of such relationship are presented in this paper. Accordingly, only questions can be raised at this point. Has the administration of public relief placed a premium through higher relief grants upon marriage among relief recipients? Have work-relief policies favored the married rather than the single men? Have employers shown a preference for married rather than for single men? If these questions are answered in the affirmative, does this mean that such policies promoted higher marriage rates among the unemployed and those on relief? It is interesting, and significant, that all persons with whom this was discussed are positive in their convictions that all of these questions must be answered in the affirmative.

LEGISLATIVE TRENDS IN FAMILY LAW

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AS THE 1920's were an era of the rights of woman, so the 1930's have been an era of the rights of man—as distinguished from woman. Postwar chivalry, possibly combined with the memory of suffragist riots, stimulated State legislatures to pass laws which summarily gave to women many of the privileges denied them by the common law. These privileges were, however, not always accompanied, in the minds of the legislators and especially of their female constituents, by a recognition of any reciprocal obligations. The opening of the present decade found the women of many States, according to the statutes, on an equal basis with men, but men, so to speak, not on an equal basis with women. The statutes enacted in recent years have sought to bring about an armistice in this perpetual struggle between men and women and to establish bases for a more lasting peace.

When this treaty of peace on a rational basis is finally negotiated, the efforts of both sides will, hopefully, be directed toward furtherance of their common interests. The outlines of those interests are becoming increasingly clear. The past years have witnessed much new and intelligent legislation on the relation of the family to the State. The marriage laws and the divorce laws recently enacted are calculated to eliminate some of the frictions generated by the clash of modern realities on medieval traditions and superstitions. With the elimination of such frictions, statutory straws in the wind indicate that intrafamily relations will receive more reasoned consideration.

It is, of course, artificial to describe this as a conscious development. There are too many trees, too closely clustered, to permit American lawmakers to view the forest. There is no actual development from acceptance of the equality of the sexes to a more rational philosophy of the State's proper functions regarding marriage and divorce, no progression from thence to a higher conception of intrafamily relationships. But for purposes of navigation the mariner may eliminate some of the cross currents on the statutory seas if he charts his course on that arbitrary projection.

The Position of Woman. The statutes enacted before 1930 to loosen woman's legal bonds were broadly of four sorts. Six Western jurisdictions gave a wife the same legal rights as her husband. Four Western jurisdictions gave a married woman the same legal rights as a single woman. Three Southern jurisdictions abolished the disabilities of coverture. And Wisconsin actually attempted to legislate the feminine gender out of its statute books. Its law provided: "Statutes where the masculine gender is used are construed as including the feminine gender." It added, however,

that the feminine gender was not to be abolished where its elimination would deny females "the special protection and privileges which they now enjoy for the general welfare." Expressing the opposite point of view were the nine States in which the husbands, so far as wives were bound by legislative fiat, remained "the head of the family." But, as a learned Georgia jurist has declared [*Curtis v. Ashworth*, 165 Ga. 792 (1928)], "While the husband is still declared by statute to be the head of the family, he, like the King of England, is largely a figurehead."

More recent legislation has tended to disregard these milk-and-water declarations. It has been specific in giving wives certain rights recognized socially but not yet recognized legally in every State. At one extreme was Montana, which in 1933 belatedly authorized what most States had long ago conceded, that a wife was to keep as her separate property, controlled by her, all that she owned before marriage. Alabama was somewhat tardy too—though many another State is even tardier—in deciding that, since 1935, spouses may convey property to each other just as if they were not married. At the other extreme was Michigan, which in 1931 took a novel step in seeking to put women on an equal basis with men regarding residence. Although many states had recognized that women can establish separate domiciles for divorce, and some states for other specific purposes, it was not until 1931 that any State declared that for purposes of voting, office-holding, or any political purpose a woman could establish her own residence separate from that of her husband.

Equality is not an unmitigated blessing. When a wife had no personality apart from her husband, a rule developed that a wife committing a crime in the presence of her husband was presumed to be acting under his coercion and was excused. She was presumed to be capable of committing independently in her husband's presence only a few peculiarly feminine crimes, such as perjury, or keeping a gambling or bawdy house. Possibly out of an excess of chivalry or ignorance, States have been singularly slow about removing this presumption of a husband's coercion, and the removal has often not been complete. To the four or five States that had abolished the presumption there were added, in 1934 and 1935, New Jersey and Michigan.

The Position of Men. Legislative changes in the status of women are becoming sporadic; they flow along in the channels dug earlier in the century, even in the nineteenth century. So too with the statutes concerning man's position, with a single glaring exception.

There is nothing new, for instance, in the belief that, throughout many years of his life, the male is the intellectual equal of the female. Oregon gave evidence of awakening to this belief in 1935 when it raised the age of majority for females to be the same as that for males, thus correcting an old injustice. There are still States that have not so awakened. New York has been more pioneering in offering protection to a rather numerous group of

relatively helpless males—divorced husbands. Divorced wives have been known to indulge in the leisure afforded by the regular tribute of alimony from their erstwhile husbands. If the tribute was not forthcoming, even worse punishment might be exacted. In 1933 New York decided that a court need not punish a husband for failure to comply with an alimony decree, if he has no means to comply. A year later it expanded the scope of an earlier statute by providing that, upon remarriage of a wife, the court must modify its judgment to relieve the husband of this burden of support. In 1935 Montana followed New York's lead. Strange as it may seem, such protection of the husband is almost unique.

The glaring exception to the piecemeal legislation to free men from the domination of women is the wide frontal attack on "heart balm." For some years sociologists and other theorists had been calling attention to the historical inconsistency of these actions and to their unfair and unequal social consequences. But forces were not mustered for action until 1935. The legislative attack centered in New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Alabama, and Pennsylvania, where victories were won, and less successfully in Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, and Oregon.

"Heart balm" is a compound of four legal elements: breach of promise to marry, alienation of affections, criminal conversation, and seduction. Breach of promise has a proud history from the seventeenth century, when the English Court of Common Pleas declared [Carter, 233, 234 (1672)] that "Marriage, to a woman especially, is an advancement or preferment" and "loss of matrimony is a temporal loss." Exception of this type of contract from the Statute of Frauds, which protected most other contracts, opened the door to abuses which ultimately led to the assessment of punitive as well as compensatory damages.

Alienation of affections and criminal conversation both involve deprivation of consortium—a legal concept whose definition runs the gamut from spiritual communion to such practical considerations as household services and sexual intercourse. Though the origins of both these actions go back at least three centuries, the wife's right to maintain them is one of the early expressions of nineteenth century female emancipation. Seduction, less hoary in its legal heritage, was not actionable at common law, on the ground that the woman consented or was equally at fault. Chivalrous legislators in our Western and Southern States, falling under the genteel Victorian influence, forged this legal *cimenture de chastité*. The evil doer could, of course, evade some of the wages of his sin by making the susceptible female "an honest woman."

The recent statutes abolishing these actions are as rare a concoction as the actions themselves. Purporting to be additions to the adjective law of the State, they are not only clearly substantive in effect, but penal as

well. The ultimate effect of these statutes is to abolish all causes of action in the legal categories embraced by the respective acts. The Indiana, New York, Alabama, New Jersey, and Michigan statutes include actions for breach of contract to marry, alienation of affections, criminal conversation, and seduction; the Illinois statute includes all but seduction, since seduction was not actionable in Illinois; and the Pennsylvania measure abolishes only the rights of action for breach of contract to marry and alienation of affections, and then only as against a defendant who is not a parent, brother, or sister of the plaintiff's spouse, being similar in this latter respect to the Michigan act.

To effectuate their aims, all these States, except Alabama, prohibit certain acts and proceedings with respect to the causes of action abolished. They make it unlawful to commence suit on any of the abolished causes of action, declare void any contract or instrument executed in payment, satisfaction, settlement, or compromise of any such cause of action, and make it illegal to institute suit on any such void contract or instrument. And in order to insure the efficacy of these provisions, each statute makes violation of any of its provisions a felony or a misdemeanor. With final abundance of caution, remembering the susceptibility of judges and juries, the legislatures (except in Illinois) have specifically provided that each act shall be liberally construed so as to effectuate its objects and purposes.

How far and how fast this legislative conflagration will travel, it is too early to prognosticate. That one legislative session should have burned so many historical and emotional bridges may be some indication of the trend. Certainly the publicity connected with these enactments has contributed to popular enlightenment. No longer is man thought to be the aggressor. His physical attack has become piffling, as compared with woman's legal onslaught. Legislative Lincolns, themselves male, may be expected to proclaim more widely the emancipation of their brethren.

The Family and the State. Although there may be no causal connection between recognition of equality of the sexes and a more rational philosophy of the marital relation, there is undoubtedly a temporal connection. The laws relating to both marriage and divorce are, on the whole, developing in an intelligent direction. Sociologists have long seen the identity between divorce reform and marriage reform, proclaiming that "the divorce evil" would be mitigated by more sensible marriage laws. Although the thesis is not capable of statistical proof, because of other and more profound variables, one may continue to assume that recent marriage statutes are a partial answer to the problem of family disintegration.

None of the marriage laws enacted in the 1930's is novel in concept. Practically all are well conceived. To be sure, there were such local aberrations as the increase in license fees in Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Colorado, and such sectional aberrations as the extension of bans on miscegena-

tion in Virginia, Maryland, and California. Possibly California's Pacific prospect explains her fear of corruption of her white blood by brown, but the Malay invasion of Maryland's shores must have grown out of some legislative nightmare. Note that California's concern is to protect her white inhabitants only, while Maryland guards as well against corruption of her Negro blood by Malays.

The rational marriage legislation of the present decade centers on four subjects. It is unfortunate that the most encompassing subject has made least headway. The abolition of common-law marriage, slow during the 1920's, is now slower still. New York, for the second time this century, has legislated against the validity of common-law marriages. One can now say that such unsolemnized marriages are valid in only a minority of the United States.

By 1930 twenty-six American jurisdictions had legislated to prohibit the marriage of the physically diseased. To that number have now been added New York, North Carolina, Maine, Montana, Connecticut and Illinois. The Montana and Connecticut laws of 1935, and the Illinois act and a Wisconsin amendment of 1937, are particularly sweeping in their requirements for physical examination. Unlike their prototype, the original Wisconsin statute of 1913, they refer not to the male applicant alone, but to both parties. Two States strengthened their laws relating to the marriage of mental incompetents. Massachusetts in 1931 added the feeble-minded to the incompetent group, already including insane persons and idiots. South Dakota in the same year adopted a provision instituted earlier in Nebraska and New Hampshire—sterilization of feeble-minded persons as a condition of marriage—but improved the mechanism for enforcement by refusing issuance of a license until sterilization has been performed. Nebraska adopted this improved form in 1935. Texas, finding its requirements for physical examinations of men too arduous, reverted to *laissez-faire* in 1933.

Physical and mental capacities, as well as social considerations, are involved in the age of marriage. The common law, adopted in this instance from Constantinople, declared to be fully valid the marriage of boys of fourteen, girls of twelve. In fact children over seven could contract inchoate marriages. This lusty medieval tradition had, by 1930, succumbed to modern intelligence in three-fourths of our American States. Twelve States still permitted a "woman" of twelve to contract a binding marriage, although nine additional years would normally be required before she could be bound by commercial contracts. Virginia in 1932 and Louisiana in 1934 raised the ages from fourteen and twelve to ages more consistent with civilized concepts. Tennessee, which had resisted any change in the common law ages for marriage as if it were Darwinism itself, figured prominently in the national press this past winter when a nine-year old child

married. The Tennessee legislative conscience quickly responded, raising the marriageable age to sixteen. The publicity from Tennessee led to soul-searching by other legislatures, with results not yet available.

The single most successful weapon against mismarriage is the hasty marriage legislation. Possibly an adaption of the system of religious banns, the statutory imposition of a waiting period before marriage originated in Maine in 1858. The usual period is five days. Before 1930 sixteen jurisdictions had adopted it. The era of prohibition, with its well-publicized gin weddings, gave impetus to the movement. But a concurrent development, good roads, made its evasion easy, since a marriage, valid where contracted is valid anywhere, including the home State of the parties. Even with evasion possible, the advance notice requirement is salutary. It has worked best where a whole block of States, like New England, had the same requirement and made evasion inconvenient. There were, however, several prominent Gretna Greens. The enactments of the past few years have eliminated a number of these. There were new two-, three-, or five-day laws enacted in Idaho, Wyoming, and Vermont in 1931; in Pennsylvania and Montana in 1935; and in the District of Columbia, New York, West Virginia, Illinois, and Maryland in 1937. The Maryland law is being held up by a referendum sponsored by Elkton taxi drivers and clergy; in any event, the passing of the Elkton marriage mart would rob the eastern sea board of a sentimental nook which might ultimately have rivalled its Scottish original in song and story. Idaho, Iowa, North Carolina, and Texas, more regardless of the romances of some wayward Shelley, repealed their advance-notice laws in 1933. Or possibly the depression had dulled the social conscience of county clerks, hotel owners, jewellers, and ministers.

The present decade is characterized by a marked easing of the requirements for divorce. Possibly this attitude is evidence of the much-heralded decay of family solidarity. Possibly it arises out of the obvious unreality and inequality of our divorce law: witness England, where Mr. A. P. Herbert, with a popular novel and Parliamentary perseverance, almost single-handed altered the traditional divorce law. Or possibly there is a subconscious recognition that an ounce of legal forethought is worth a pound of legal restraint.

During the 1930's, as ever, there has been a great deal of legislative fretting over divorce. Maine, Massachusetts, and New Jersey have enacted statutes concerning the custody of children involved in divorce; Alabama, Florida, Illinois, and Nebraska have patched up their alimony laws; Illinois and Minnesota have new provisions regarding separate maintenance; and Colorado and the District of Columbia have altered their statutes relating to finality of the divorce decrees after hearing. Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Virginia and West Virginia, have amended or supplemented their statutes, allowing a decree of limited divorce to be merged, after a

lapse of time, into a decree of absolute divorce. Michigan has decided to heed more closely the siren note of the divorce proctor, so beloved of theoretical divorce reformers.

More subtle than these statutes, and more far-reaching in significance, is the new legislation in Maryland and Nevada concerning separation agreements. Statistical and case studies have indicated how frequently the attributes of divorce—alimony, custody, and property distribution—are decided upon by the spouses before commencing suit for divorce. Question has been raised of the effect of such agreements on the actual contest of divorce actions, and of their relation to collusion. The statutes of several States had already recognized the validity of separation agreements. It seems that the law is to grant them further recognition before their significance, in relation to the volume and content of divorce cases, is popularly appreciated.

The two vital factors in divorce, grounds and residence requirements, have received their due attention during the decade. A few jurisdictions have radically overhauled their grounds for divorce, notably the District of Columbia in 1935. Notably, one may say, because the District had clung almost as tenaciously as New York to a single ground for divorce; and notably, too, because the District law, enacted by a national legislature, may indicate a cumulative liberalization of the general American attitude toward grounds for divorce. New York, on the other hand, took no longer step toward rationalizing its grounds for divorce than to amend its Enoch Arden law in 1936. Alabama in 1933 reduced the period of non-support allowing of divorce; and Virginia the next year reduced the period of desertion. Alaska in 1935, Mississippi in 1932 and 1934, Minnesota in 1933, and Vermont in 1931, either added insanity as a ground for divorce or liberalized its application.

With the man in the street aware of the opportunity to obtain a divorce practically by mutual consent, granted the money and a co-operative spouse, the ostrich-like temper of the law is a bit astonishing. To be sure, New Mexico did add the ground of incompatibility to its list in 1933, and though the provision is now unique, it is not new. The California legislature passed a similar bill in 1937, only to be castigated by the Governor in his veto message. Other states have added grounds amounting to incompatibility in the past, and have later subtracted them. But quietly, almost unnoticed, another ground for divorce has been developing, which may ultimately be the peg on which mutually-desired divorces are hung. By 1930 seven States allowed divorces to be granted to parties who had simply lived apart for a period of years: Kentucky, five years; Louisiana, seven years; North Carolina, five years; Rhode Island, ten years; Texas, ten years; Washington, five years; Wisconsin, five years. In 1931 Nevada became the eighth jurisdiction, with a period of five years; in 1935 the District of Col-

umbia became the ninth, also with five years; and in 1933 North Carolina reduced its period to two years. Such living apart is not the same as desertion; desertion is an offence, an act involving blame, and presumably contrary to the desire of the spouse. Living apart may be voluntary; the fact of separation alone is important, not the cause. In Scandinavia, the model for divorce rationalists, divorce may be granted if the parties have lived apart for three years, or, if they both wish the divorce, if they remain irreconcilable after a year's separation. In nine American States this principle is essentially attained; the deviation is one of time only. If the period is made sufficiently short, other more contentious grounds for divorce may be expected to become vestigial.

But public interest in easy divorce does not center on these niceties of the divorce law. "How easy" usually means "how fast." Those who are anxious to exploit the commercial opportunities of marital discord have not been hesitant to translate their desires into legislation. Obviously not all the fourteen States which, since 1930, have altered their residence requirements have been lured on by Mammon. Alabama modestly reduced her residence requirements from three years to one in 1933, Indiana and North Carolina from two years to one. And Vermont (1931), Michigan (1931), and Kansas (1935) conscientiously amended their laws. But four states have been standing out in the public mind and public press since 1931. When the depression and the French courts turned Paris into a divorce-seeker's desert, Nevada, with its ninety-day residence requirement, became the oasis. Idaho and Arkansas decided on legislative irrigation to produce the golden fruits of divorce trade, reducing their residence requirements in 1931 to meet Nevada's. Nevada promptly countered by cutting her requirement in half. It has taken Idaho six years to catch up with Nevada; and Arkansas, possibly hopeful because of the attraction of Hot Springs, is still running under a handicap. Florida entered the lists in 1935, with a ninety-day law. Time alone can tell if her rival West Coast paradise will permit this gauntlet to be hurled unheeded in the face of its hospitality.

Intrafamily Relations. The recent years have been an era of exploration rather than consolidation in problems of intrafamily relations. During a period when the position of the family is rapidly changing as an institution, one can expect little change in legal relationships within the family. The legal stolidity of intrafamily relations acts as a home base for the legislative explorers who venture forth to establish new social outposts. It is only when such outposts are established that one can expect a careful survey of intrafamily topography.

Recent legislation has strengthened the requirement of support of relatives in California, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, and North Carolina. It has been particularly solicitous of the welfare of adopted children, no less than twenty-two States having en-

acted statutes within five years to broaden and rationalize the controls over adoption procedures. Closely related is the legislative concern with illegitimacy. Because only about one-half the estimated 100,000 illegitimate births are recorded annually, a few States have sought to prevent the entry of damning information on birth certificates. Thus Massachusetts and Michigan in 1933 and Wisconsin in 1935 have required certificates of illegitimate births to be kept confidential or in separate files. New Jersey and New York, in 1935 and 1936, have sought to keep birth certificates silent on the subject of illegitimacy. Georgia, Indiana, Minnesota, Nevada, and North Carolina, among others, have legislated in the past six years to tighten their bastardy laws, with particular reference to support. Wisconsin and New York have gone so far as to authorize blood tests in paternity cases to determine whether the child and its putative father have the same blood grouping.

The new statutes regulating intrafamily relations, though often expedient, are very largely repressive. They do not betray the loosening of family ties of which there is such constant rumor. More accurately, possibly, they do betray such loosening, but they meet it with opposition. The question remains, how long can the legislative Horatius turn back the advance of social change from the sacred domains of family organization? The next decade may afford an answer.

A STUDY OF 325 MIXED MARRIAGES

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FOR FOUR years the writer has been collecting mixed marriage cases personally known to his students in the course on "Marriage and the Family." There are now 325 cases complete enough for tabulation purposes, making a large enough sample to show something of the variety and nature of such marriages. There is no control group with which they can be directly compared, but subgroups can be compared with each other and some aspects of behavior noted. Finally, some of the special hazards of such marriages can be analyzed.

I. Inter-racial Marriages. There are 48 cases of marriages between races. On the basis of *nationality*, *sex* and *race* there are 32 different combinations, such as Negro (U.S.) \times White (Poland), Japanese (Japan) \times White (Ireland), etc.¹ In the whole series slightly over half the combinations have only one case each. Only two have more than 2 cases: Negro (U.S.) \times White (U.S.), 9 cases; Chinese (China) \times White (U.S.), 4 cases.

When only *sex* and *race* are considered the five combinations (using the simple three-color classification) are as follows:

White \times Yellow	2	White - Yellow	20
Yellow \times White	18		
Black \times White	18	Black - White	25
White \times Black	7		
Yellow \times Black	3	Yellow - Black	3
	48		48

It will be seen that the bulk of the sample is made up of black and yellow men, in equal numbers, marrying white women. The yellow men are mostly Chinese and Japanese (7 each), with 3 Filipinos and 1 Javanese. The yellow women are 1 Chinese and 1 Japanese. The mixture is almost entirely between whites and non-whites, the 3 yellow-black combinations being the only exceptions.

It is interesting to note that the males are preponderantly non-white, the ratio of non-whites to whites being more than 4 to 1. The women are mostly white, the ratio being almost 3 to 1. As far as this sample goes, black and yellow men marry white women *four times as frequently* as white men marry black and yellow women, there being 36 and 9 cases respectively. One possible reason for so few white men marrying yellow women is that there are so few of the latter in this country, and these few are in demand

¹ The country named in parentheses is the country of birth.

N.B.—Throughout the article the symbol " \times " is used to designate a marriage classified by sex, the male always being given first. The symbol "-" is used to designate marriages not classified by sex. For example, the 25 Black-White marriages include both the black men marrying white women (B \times W), and the white men marrying black women (W \times B).

by the males of their own race, who outnumber them enormously.² But the same does not hold true of Negroes. The supply is plentiful either way, yet only 7 white men married Negro women, while 18 Negroes married white women. Of these 7 white men only 2 were born in the United States, the others being from Greece, Italy, Germany, England and Barbados. But of the 18 white women who married Negroes, 10 were American born. Surely there is no more stigma attached to the white man who marries a Negro woman than to the white woman who marries a Negro. Is color difference in the mate less repulsive to the white woman than to the white man? It can scarcely be a lack of men of their own color that leads white women to marry colored men, for in New York City the sex ratio for the white population was 100.6 in 1930, which year allows approximately for the median duration of the marriages. And since the Negro sex ratio in New York City for the same year was only 91.1, Negro men were certainly not driven to look for non-Negro women. On the other hand, the Oriental races have a paucity of women in this country, and it is probable that in the YXW marriages the Oriental men are forced to seek non-Oriental wives. Possibly the smallness of the sample is to blame for the disparity between the coloredXnon-colored and the non-coloredXcolored unions, but the difference appears too great for mere chance. Some of the reasons back of these particular marriages will be given further on.

Of all 48 marriages 16 were childless, only 5 of which were of 3 years or less duration. For marriages with a median duration of 10 years this seems a rather low birth performance.³ Undoubtedly one reason is the realization of the hardship imposed upon the children of such unions, for such comments as "they didn't feel that they should have any children," "they agreed that they ought not to have children," or "they are definitely against having children," occur frequently. One Jewess of a good family who married a Negro lawyer against the protests of her heartbroken parents promised her mother that they never would have any children.

The success of marriages being commonly judged by the degree of happiness of the husband and wife, they were rated separately in each case on the following five-point scale: very happy, moderately happy, neutral or "so-so," moderately unhappy, very unhappy. In tabulation it was necessary to assign arbitrary weights to these categories if a numerical scale were to be devised. After trying several systems of weightings the following seemed to give results fairly consistent with the total pictures presented in the case stories: very happy, 100%; moderately happy, 75%; neutral,

² In 1930 the sex ratio for Japanese in this country was 179, for Chinese 631, and for Filipinos almost 2,500, for all ages 15 and over.

³ See table in summary for age at marriage, duration of marriage, and number of children per family in all three groups.

50%; moderately unhappy, 25%; very unhappy, 0. Using this scale the happiness ratings were as follows, both sexes combined:⁴

	Number of Cases	Type of Mixture	Happiness Rating
Both combinations	18	Black × White	57
	7	White × Black	39
	25	Black — White	52
Both combinations	18	Yellow × White	67
	2	White × Yellow	100*
	20	Yellow — White	71
All combinations	3	Yellow × Black	75*
	48	B — W — Y	62

* Sample too small to be significant by itself.

As might be expected, the average happiness rating for the total group is not high, being only one-half step above neutral. This is lower than the rating for intermarriages involving both nationality and religion, and still lower for those involving religion only, as will be seen presently. It will be noted that the W × B marriages are much lower on the happiness scale than the B × W marriages, and that both are much lower than the Y — W marriages. The greater the color difference the smaller the chance of happiness—at least in these cases. In a small sample there is always the possibility that such a seeming correlation is the result of chance combinations of other factors.

The children of interracial marriages are particularly handicapped, for they literally have no race, frequently being rejected by both the races from which they come. Such terms as half-breed, half-caste, mulatto, and Eurasian usually carry disapproval and sometimes scorn. In America, part of this is due to the implication that, because of our laws against intermarriage, many such persons must have somewhere in their background a history of illegitimacy, but much of it is due to unreasoning race prejudice. Not only are the children subject to ridicule and sometimes ostracism at school and on the playground, but also the chances of intrafamily strife are increased. Frequently one child is white and another colored in the same family.

In one case (W × B) the boy is white and his two sisters dark. They quarrel a great deal, his most effective technique being to call them "nigger," which infuriates the girls and stirs up both the parents. In another (Y × W) the six-year-old daughter is called "chink" by her playmates at school. Her parents are ostracized by whites, and her Chinese father is "beaten up" periodically by her mother's brothers. The mother in another case (W × B) hates the daughter because she is light like her

⁴ The husbands and wives were first rated separately, but the final averages were so nearly identical (variations either way balancing each other) that there was no point in keeping them separate in the final tables.

father, and will not let the girl marry a dark person. In one instance ($Y \times W$) the wife had a daughter by her first marriage with a white man, and now in this second marriage the white daughter resents having a Chinese step-father and half-brother. Misery attends the mother in another union ($B \times W$) because her little daughter hates her for being white and loves her father because he is black like she is. Her little brother, however, loves his mother, and hates his sister for hating and striking his mother. The mother "has no friends." Still another mother in a mixed marriage ($W \times B$) is hurt because her daughters avoid introducing her to their friends as their *mother*, but are eager to introduce their father and show him off.

Why do people marry with the storm signals of race prejudice set against them? In some cases the reasons are the same as in ordinary marriages—love, propinquity, mutual interests, etc.

In one case a white girl of excellent family worked in the office of a Negro lawyer, fell desperately in love with him, and finally married him, though it sent her family to the depths of despair. The couple achieved a moderate degree of happiness, but her family ties were never happy thereafter. In another case a beautiful and brilliant coed in an eastern university, much sought after by the opposite sex but determined upon a career rather than marriage, met a Hindu who had studied in Europe and was continuing with graduate work in the United States. Soon these two were "deeply in love," and seemed to have a perfect intellectual affinity, as well as strong sex attraction for each other. They lived for years as common-law husband and wife both in America and Europe without ever letting her family know. They were devoted to each other, but their happiness finally broke on the rock of her conscience, plus the maneuvering of a "friend" who managed to bring about a misunderstanding. He married another woman and she is starting her life over.

In one strange case ($B \times W$) the chief motive the white woman had in marrying her Negro husband (although a common-law marriage only) is that he is the only man who can satisfy her sexually. She comes of an excellent family and is well educated, while he is ignorant and of very poor family stock. They met in one of New York's "hot spots" where he was a steady patron, and had intercourse. From then on she was "a slave to his sexual powers." They quarrel and fight, but still they live together. She dominates him with her superior culture, and he hates her for it, but he gets a good deal of prestige among his kind for being able to get and hold a white wife. She has lost all her white friends.

In still another case ($B \times W$) one of the motives on the part of the girl seems to have been the novelty and daring of the idea. She is very well educated, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and from a highly respected family. While taking graduate work in an eastern university she met an ambitious young Negro, born of a poor Southern family, who was striving to get a law degree. They were both radicals, and this mutual interest brought them much together. In a short time they were in love. Parental opposition merely challenged them, and the "attention value" of such a marriage seemed inviting. They eloped and later settled in a Negro community where the wife found herself regarded as a curiosity by the Negroes and shunned by most of them. The husband found that his marriage affected his practice, and they are now striving, with increasing irritation, to find compensation in each other for their social isolation.

And as a final example of motive, one calculating woman who believes that Orientals make more considerate husbands than do Americans, has had two of them and finds them very satisfactory. She deliberately put herself in a position to meet Japanese men and married one of them. When he died she acquired another, de-

claring that Japanese husbands are definitely superior to the American brand, and show their wives more respect.

In some cases the couples achieved a reasonable degree of happiness and in a few instances they were very happy. The very fact that two persons of different race are willing to brave the unyielding opposition of all about them in order to wed may be evidence of an unusually strong personal attraction. Furthermore, such opposition makes them fully aware of the difficult adjustments ahead, and may result in early and determined efforts to justify their decision. Such factors are favorable to adjustment, and occasionally they outweigh the heavy hand of prejudice.

In one marriage ($Y \times W$) the Polish-born but American-naturalized wife learned to cook Chinese food, and the Chinese husband learned to like American cooking. In another case ($Y \times W$), in which both partners were cultured, the family was left almost entirely to itself until the little son was old enough to go to school. When he began to bring his playmates home with him, and they returned to their homes with tales of the beautiful Chinese things they had seen, various parents were soon coming also and the isolated couple acquired an entirely new and satisfying social status.

II. *Inter-nationality Marriages*. Nationality is not isolated as a separate factor in this study, for in every one of the 118 cases the mixture was of both nationality and religion.⁵ The conflicts and adjustments, therefore, are two fold: in some cases nationality dominates, but more frequently religion. Since there is not space here to present all three sections of the study, details of this section are omitted and the necessary comparative data presented with those of the other sections in the summary.

III. *Inter-faith Marriages*. Religious separatism is still a formidable barrier to the free intermarriage of persons otherwise compatible. Young folks today, who consider religion to be on the wane, are likely to be impatient with the restraints it still imposes on yearnings of the heart. They make the common error of assuming that two young people of different faiths are *different only in their religious beliefs*. Far more than that is involved. Catholic and Protestant youths, for example, might have very similar theological views and yet be far apart in certain basic attitudes. The concentration of authority in one church versus individual decisions in the other, the teachings of each church on the subject of birth control, church pronouncements on how the children of mixed marriages shall be raised—these and similar items can cause much trouble, sometimes to the surprise of the couple involved. The Jewish youth brought up in an orthodox home has a very different background from either Catholic or Protestant. Judaism is a culture, not merely a religion. It involves not only certain theological conceptions at variance with Christian doctrine (such as the non-divinity of Christ), but also differences of diet, day of rest, observation of holidays, etc.

⁵ The cases in which the mixture was on nationality only were too few to be tabulated separately, and they were therefore omitted in order to keep the sample consistent.

In this study there are 159 cases of marriage between persons of the same race and nationality but of different religious faith, using only the three great faiths in this country, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish. The frequencies of the six possible combinations are as follows:

Jewish	× Catholic	54	Jewish	— Catholic	83
Catholic	× Jewish	29			
Jewish	× Protestant	31	Jewish	— Protestant	47
Protestant	× Jewish	16			
Protestant	× Catholic	14	Protestant	— Catholic	39
Catholic	× Protestant	15			
		159			159

This makes the total number of combinations in which Jews figure one way or another 130, Catholics 112, and Protestants 76.

The first significant fact to appear is that Jews have intermarried with Catholics far more frequently than with Protestants—three-fourths again as much; the second is that Jewish men marry Catholic and Protestant women almost twice as often as Jewish women marry Catholic and Protestant men. Is there less conflict between the Jewish and Catholic faiths than between the Jewish and Protestant faiths, or is the question of the nativity of the *parents* of the couples, which might affect such factors as social status and residential propinquity, more significant? Traditionally the Jews have reason to be prejudiced against both Catholics and Protestants, having been persecuted by both. But the question of nationality of stock may throw some light. Omitting the very few marriages in which the parents of either husband or wife were split as to nationality, the ratio of foreign-born parentage to native-born parentage was: Jewish, 13 to 1; Catholic, 2 to 1; Protestant, 5 to 8. Thus, while the Jews are overwhelmingly of foreign-born parentage and the Catholics much less so, but still 2 to 1, the parentage of the Protestants is 60% more native born than foreign born. This would have a tendency to throw the first two groups together rather than with the third, and might account for part of the difference in cross-marriage above noted. However, this seems to throw no light on the question of why Jewish men marry Catholic and Protestant women almost twice as frequently as Jewish women marry Catholic and Protestant men.

The happiness ratings for the various combinations were:

Number of Cases	Combination	Happiness Rating
83 { 54 29	Jew × Catholic Catholic × Jew	75 { 70 60
47 { 31 16	Jew × Protestant Protestant × Jew	80 { 79 76
29 { 15 14	Catholic × Protestant Protestant × Catholic	75 { 69 63
159	All Combinations	73

It will be seen that the Jewish-Protestant marriages have a considerably higher happiness rating than the other two combinations, which are almost equal. In the Jewish-Catholic group, the Jewish husband and Catholic wife combination rates one-fourth higher than the Catholic husband and Jewish wife combination. Does the dominance of one culture or the other, particularly in relation to the faith in which the children shall be reared, have anything to do with this? In the Jewish×Catholic group the husband's general culture was said to be dominant in almost a 3 to 1 proportion, but in the Catholic×Jewish group the ratio was only 6 to 5, i.e., the husband's culture barely predominated. Does this mean that the Jewish general culture pattern is more persistent than the Catholic? Such a theory seems to be supported by the fact that in *both* groups the children were brought up in the Jewish faith a little more frequently than in the Catholic faith. This is in spite of the fact that on the attitude-toward-religion scale the Catholic husbands were somewhat more religious than the Jewish husbands. In both the J×C and C×J unions in which there were conflicts, religion was the cause in twice as many cases as were non-religious factors. In all but three cases in which there was conflict based on religious differences there were children, disputes over their upbringing being a common trouble. In general, the interest in religion was quite low for both husband and wife, "indifference" being the modal attitude for both. In fact, a good many of the couples (in some cases as many as one-third) were bringing up their children in no religious faith. Yet there were almost as many conflicts over religion in cases where both husband and wife were "indifferent" to religion as where either or both were moderately religious or even devout. This tallies with the statement that the religious faith in which one is brought up is far more than a matter of theological belief.

The statement has frequently been made that since children so often are a source of conflict in inter-faith marriages, such marriages have fewer children than do intra-faith marriages of similar status.⁶ If this is true (we cannot tell in this study, for there is no control group), we might expect that the happy marriages would have more children than the unhappy marriages, duration being equal. But this is not the case. Omitting from both groups those marriages of three years duration or less, the number of children for the happy marriages (very happy and moderately happy combined) was 1.2, but for the unhappy marriages (very unhappy and moderately unhappy combined) it was 1.6. Correcting for the difference in the duration of the marriages the figure for the unhappy group was still .2 larger than for the happy group. The happiness rating and number of children (corrected for duration) were then compared in all six of the combinations of the three faiths, but no significant correlation was found.

⁶ Most of these statements seem to be based upon a Swiss study many years ago in which the number of children born to Catholic-Catholic, Protestant-Protestant, and Catholic-Protestant marriages decreased in the order given.

In the Jewish-Protestant marriages the children were brought up as Jews rather than Protestants in the ratio of 2 to 1, though the Jewish spouses were scarcely any more religious than the Protestant. Half of the definite conflicts were over religion, again occurring practically as often as otherwise among those couples rated as "indifferent" to religion.

In the Protestant-Catholic combinations it is interesting to find the children being brought up in the Protestant rather than the Catholic faith in the ratio of 3 to 1. This is somewhat surprising for two reasons: first, the modal rating for religious attitude was "moderately religious"—a higher rating than for either of the other inter-faith groups; second, the orders of the Catholic church are that all children of Catholic-non-Catholic marriages shall be brought up Catholic. Once more we find half of the conflicts arising from religious differences.

The experiences in these inter-faith marriages are extremely varied, and only a few can be presented here. In quite a few cases one spouse (more often the wife) has adopted the other's faith, sometimes showing stricter observance of the new faith than does the other partner. Naturally, this is no insurance against other types of conflict, but it usually helps prevent a specific religious conflict. Children are sometimes the *casus belli*, and sometimes the factor directly responsible for the reconciliation of opposing grandparents.

G. P., a Protestant, married a Jewess, in spite of the strongest possible opposition by the parents on both sides. The young people were very much in love, and before marriage they talked over the difficulties they might meet later. Neither was devout, but both were moderately religious. Before marriage the girl promised willingly that G. should be head of the family, and that if there were children they should be brought up in his faith. They were exceedingly happy until a baby boy was born. The grandparents on both sides descended upon them with voluble and conflicting advice regarding the faith in which the son should be reared. They were told firmly that the parents would settle that question for themselves. But it did not work out as easily as expected. Secure in her belief that her religion was superior to that of her husband, the wife anticipated no trouble in convincing him that the boy should be brought up a Jew. But he was firm and reminded her of her previous promise, which she could not deny. The result was that the boy, and later his sister, were raised in the Protestant faith, much to the sorrow of the wife. Her conscience hurt her continually, and she became ill. Her husband, still devoted to her, agreed that the children should be raised as Protestants only until old enough to choose their own faith and then be allowed free choice. This small concession comforted her and there has been no serious trouble since, though they are not considered happy.

Martin F., a young Jew of Russian parentage, married Kathleen, an Irish Catholic girl, with whom he had fallen desperately in love. Martin was only moderately religious, but Kathleen was very devout. They had been going together for months before the parents on either side were permitted to know that they were of different religious faiths. When Martin finally told his mother that the girl he wanted to marry was Catholic she fainted, and it took the family physician to restore her. The father told Martin that if he married the girl the family would dis-

own him and mourn him as dead. Family "scenes" occurred whenever Martin raised the subject anew. Kathleen's parents objected almost as strenuously, partly from religious prejudice and partly because they strongly favored a former suitor, the son of an old friend. Finally, in desperation, the young couple eloped and were married by a justice of the peace.

After the ceremony Martin took his bride to his parents' home, hoping that when he confronted them with a *fait accompli* they would forgive and all would be well. Instead, they ordered them out of the house and rebuked the girl with the words, "You are responsible for the death of our son!" Her parents also refused the olive branch, so the young couple started their married life with unyielding family antagonism instead of the usual hovering solicitude of parents. They began to magnify each other's faults, and quarrels became frequent, though they always made up again. They agreed not to have any children, and when the young wife found herself pregnant the quarreling became serious. The baby was a boy and Martin wanted him circumcised, but his wife would not hear to it, declaring that she would bring the boy up as a Catholic. The fight was on. The hospital authorities refused to circumcise the child without the mother's consent, so the first round was lost by the father. As soon as she left the hospital Kathleen secretly took her baby to be baptized by a Catholic priest. When Martin heard of this he was enraged, for he had also lost round two. He returned to his parents (the first time since he had been ordered out) and was received with open arms. He confessed that the marriage was a complete failure, and they advised divorce, with alimony. He carried the suggestion to Kathleen, but was met with the simple statement: "I was born a Catholic; I will die a Catholic. Catholics do not believe in divorce." Nothing could shake her from this stand.

Five years passed, with quarreling and suffering a commonplace. Finding herself pregnant again Kathleen sought abortion, but without success, and a baby girl was born. Martin hoped that this second child could be brought up in his faith, but Kathleen refused. When the little girl was two years old Kathleen found that, on pretext of taking the child out for a ride, the father was taking her to a synagogue. The wife made a terrible scene, and taking her two children with her returned to her parents, only to be refused admittance on the time-honored ground that "she had made her bed and now must lie in it." There was nothing to do but to go back to her husband. Again he pleaded for divorce but again she refused.

The marriage has now endured for ten years, with almost continual quarreling. Martin wants the boy to be a doctor but Kathleen says he will be a priest. The little girl's attitude is revealed by a recent episode. Her father picked her up playfully and asked the usual fond question, "Whose little girl are you?" Whereupon the little girl replied stoutly, "I'm Mother's little girl, and you're not my Daddy—you're a Jew!"

S. G. (Jewish) thought he was indifferent to religion, and readily promised his young Catholic wife that if there were children she could bring them up in her faith. Everything was fine until the first child—a boy—was born, and the wife had him christened and duly started on the Catholic path. To his own surprise the husband found himself resentful, and they began to quarrel frequently on the subject of religion. When the second son was born the father was determined to have the boy circumcised, even going so far as to take the matter to court. There the rabbi and priest got together and agreed that the child should be raised as a Catholic until old enough to decide for himself.

But sometimes children are the saving factor.

P. L. (Catholic) and his wife (Jewish) are very happy in spite of religious difficulties. He is more or less indifferent to religion and she is only moderately religious, but their parents take their religion far more seriously. The opposition was powerful from both families, and the young people were made to choose between spouse and family. They chose each other and were married by a justice of the peace.

They were very happy, except for the estrangement from their families. Within a year they had a baby boy, who bound them even more closely together. The little child was too much for the grandparents to hold out against, and soon they were reconciled with the young couple. The parental families have become fast friends and all animosities have been completely overcome. To please the parents the marriage ceremony has been repeated by a priest and a rabbi, so the couple are very much married. The husband has offered to adopt the wife's religious faith, but she will not permit it. They do not attend either house of worship, but she keeps the High Jewish Holidays and he observes the dietary laws and attends the rituals at the home of her family. At present there seems to be no source of discord whatever.

M. R. (Jewish) and his wife (Catholic), both moderately religious, have had 12 years of happy married life after a threatening beginning. In this case the wife's family was too far away to cause trouble, but his family dropped him suddenly and completely on his marriage. Being an only son, who had been humored by parents and sisters, this was a hard blow, but he and his wife weathered it until their first-born came to their aid. The baby was a boy, and the young father was extremely anxious to have him brought up as a Jew, which involved early circumcision. But he was fearful lest his wife, still in the hospital, would object, for they had never talked over the matter. He became almost frantic in his anxiety, and finally appealed to one of his estranged sisters to go to the hospital and talk to his wife about it, which she finally agreed to do. When she told the young wife of her husband's anxiety the latter was genuinely angry to think that he had doubted her devotion and submission to his wishes. She said there had never been any question in her mind but that her children should be brought up as Jews. This so delighted the husband's sisters and parents that animosities were forgotten, and from that day the family relations have been of the happiest.

Even when religious differences seemingly have been dissolved they often remain a latent source of tension, coming to the surface only when other antagonisms arise.

In a certain P×J marriage, rated as moderately happy, religious animosities arise only during quarrels on other topics. The father agreed to the circumcision of their boy for the sake of cleanliness and health, but even so the fact rankles in his mind. When a quarrel arises he is sure to berate his wife for the circumcision, and on one occasion he shouted, "You made a Jew out of the kid!"

In a J×C family there is no evidence of religious antagonism except when the mother is angry. Then she turns on her own children and calls them "dirty little Sheenies." When angry with her husband she calls him a "blooming Jew."

Summary

Taking the study as a whole the happiness rating may seem too high for a representative group of mixed marriages. Combining the "very happy" and "moderately happy" groups, and also the "very unhappy" and "moderately unhappy" groups, the happy marriages outnumber the

AGE AT MARRIAGE, DURATION OF MARRIAGE, NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY, AND HAPPINESS RATING: ALL GROUPS

Factors	Inter-racial Marriages	Inter-nationality Marriages	Inter-faith Marriages	All Marriages
Number of cases	48	118	159	325
Age of husband at marriage	Mi 28 Mo 30	27 25	25 25	27 25
Age of wife at marriage	Mi 24 Mo 25	22 20	22 23	22 20
*Duration of marriage in years:				
All marriages	Mi 8 Mo 10 Av 10	14 12 11	10 5 12	11 5 11
Excluding mar- riages of 3 yrs. or less duration	Mi 10 Mo 10 Av 11	16 12 12	12 5 14	14 5 13
Number of children:				
All marriages	Mi 1 Mo 0 Av 1.5	1 2 1.5	1 0 1.2	1 1 1.3
Excluding mar- riages of 3 yrs. or less duration	Mi 1 Mo 0 Av 1.5	2 2 1.6	1 2 1.3	1 2 1.5
Happiness rating	62	69	73	70

* At the time the data were taken (or until the marriage was terminated by divorce, separation, desertion, or death.)

unhappy 3 to 1. There are at least two possible sources of error here. First, there is some evidence of unconscious selection of cases by the students. In spite of specific instructions to take the cases exactly as they came, there may have been an unconscious slighting of divorce cases, whether from personal bias or from a feeling that a continuing case would be more valuable. Furthermore, they were somewhat less likely to be in touch with cases in which divorce had occurred some years previously than with those marriages which had continued their normal social contacts. A second possible source of error is the disposition of outside observers to rate a couple's happiness too high. It is usual for couples to compose their differences in the presence of others and do their quarreling in private. Their friends may know they are not entirely happy, but they do not always suspect the extent of the trouble. There seems to have been some tendency to rate a couple "very happy" if the observers knew of no definite conflict. This possible error is not serious in this study, for we make no comparisons with

an outside group rated differently. Finally, no attempt should be made to generalize from this relatively small sample of 325 cases. The findings herein presented are meant to *apply to this study only*.

The following table makes certain basic comparisons for all groups, but requires little comment.

The following are some of the more outstanding points revealed by the study:

1. Black and yellow men married white women four times as frequently as white men married black and yellow women.
2. Foreign-born men married American-born women twice as frequently as American-born men married foreign-born women.
3. Jews married Catholics more than twice as frequently as they married Protestants; and Jewish men married Catholic and Protestant women twice as frequently as Jewish women married Catholic and Protestant men.
4. The Jewish faith seemed to dominate in $J \times C$, $C \times J$, $J \times P$, and $P \times J$ marriages.
5. In the $C \times P$ and $P \times C$ marriages the children were brought up as Protestants in the ratio of 3 to 1 cases.
6. Comparing all three groups—inter-faith, inter-nationality, inter-racial—the *degree of happiness varied inversely with the degree of difference in culture or color*. This relationship held even in the racial sub-groups; the greater the color difference the lower the happiness rating.

CHANGING VALUES IN SEX AND FAMILY RELATIONS

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THE CONCEPT of "value" is becoming increasingly useful both in psychology and sociology. In the study of cultures, we are giving increasing attention to "patterns" and "premises,"¹ or general principles of integration. These always involve values. For our purposes here we shall regard a *value* as any general pattern, situation or aspect of human behavior, society, culture, or of the physical environment, or their interrelationships, which is treated by one or more human beings as if it were an end in itself; it is something which people try to protect, increase, or attain, and apparently gain satisfaction when they succeed. This conception of value differs from economic "value" in that it implies *utility* only and not necessarily *scarcity*; furthermore, it emphasizes final utility rather than instrumental or derived utility. It is similar to the ethical concept of value; ethical values are indeed the proper concern of scientific sociology. To be scientific about values is to view them as objective phenomena, from a point of view detached from any particular system of values; it does not mean to ignore them.²

The family with its changes and problems, has been abundantly discussed in terms of material culture and standards of living, of social structure and interpersonal relationships. We shall attempt here a discussion of the family in terms of values. This brief discussion will not prove anything, nor establish any new truth; it may enrich our understanding and suggest new leads for further study.

One may attempt to discover values by inductive generalization; building upon statistical studies of attitudes of numerous individuals. We shall not do that here. Our method is quicker and rougher. It attempts to see the forest rather than the trees. It rests especially upon broad comparisons of cultures, past and present.³

¹ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, A. A. Knopf, 1926. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, American Book Co., 1937. Edward Sapir, "Culture Genuine and Spurious," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.* 29, 1924, 401-429.

² There is one logical ambiguity in the use of the term which will not trouble us much if we recognize it. Sometimes "value" refers to a particular thing which "is valued" or "has value"; sometimes it refers to that uniform abstract quality which things have when they are said to "have value," to "be valued," to have "value placed upon them."

³ In practice it is difficult to keep separate the concepts "an attitude" and a "value." Yet, when we consider the *world* of attitudes and the *world* of values, Thomas and Znaniecki's distinction has more meaning: attitudes are "subjective," values "objective." Attitude study, statistical or otherwise, makes us think in terms of variations of individual reaction toward an implied social constant. To be sure the "attitude scale" often presents several alternative

A good example of a value in the field of marriage and family relations is that found in the "romantic complex."⁴ In this case the central value might be described as a "thrill-producing social interaction of secondary sex behavior in a pair of opposite-sexed human beings who have attained this highly emotionalized and exclusive relationship through a process of free choice, often against obstacles, and commonly with the aid of novel, beautiful, and more or less secretive situations."

A value in our sense has several characteristics: (1) The valued "object" has some degree of *generality*; it is never a single experience or single concrete situation. It is a common pattern or aspect of several concrete situations and experiences.

(2) It is always a *pattern*, or configuration, with some internal structure. It is never a simple "element," such as "moonlight" or "kissing." It must be "kiss" in relation to something else, and so on.

(3) It seldom or never stands as an absolute; it is something *relative* to other values.^{4a} Values sometimes appear to be arranged on a linear scale from high to low. In the above description of the romantic situation, the item of free choice would hardly have any meaning except in relation to the alternative situation; that is, choice dictated by parents. We shall use the term "avvaluation" to mean the rising of a value in relation to other values, "devaluation" to denote its fall.

(4) A value is always an object of *desire* (but not always an object to be possessed by the desiring individual). Some writers speak of "negative values"; in other words, things which are disapproved, tabooed, undesired. It might be simpler to say that every value has both a positive and negative aspect; it always implies situations which people approach or seek, and other situations which they avoid or reject. The taboo upon nudity in our culture is an example of a so-called negative value. It can easily be verbalized, however, in the positive way by calling it "the genitals-concealment-value." Malinowski has shown that taboos in primitive society, as with us, are of varying degrees of intensity, and that even an act such as incest may be very differently treated according to the situation.⁵ The constant

social patterns among which an individual may choose, but these are assumed (in the Thorstone methodology more than in some others, of course) to represent degrees of *something in the individual*. The study of values-as-such concerns itself with the variations and essential forms of the social (or other) patterns themselves, which are the objects or stimuli of the reactions we call attitudes. Again, the "strength" or "prestige" of a value cannot be judged merely by the number of individuals voting for it on any known verbal test, but only by the application of many and diverse sociological criteria.

⁴ See Ernest W. Burgess, "The Romantic Impulse and Family Disorganization," *Survey*, 57, 1926, 290-294.

^{4a} Possibly one or more "absolute" values could be philosophically postulated or empirically derived from observation of human behavior. Thus "human life," or "the perpetuation of the human species," might be regarded as absolute and ultimate values. We are concerned here, however with the rank and file of values which differentiate cultures, groups, and individuals.

⁵ *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926; *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927.

and essential factor may be the positive value which the taboo operates to conserve.

(5) A value is something which people not only wish, but which they *wish to wish*. In Victorian culture, sex experience was abundantly and intensely wished by individuals, particularly males. It was not very much a *value*, however, because in a broad sense people were ashamed of the fact that they did wish it. They regarded as fortunate the person who could more or less avoid wishing it. The Church, at a much earlier period, made celibacy a high-value institution. The Freudian would say that a value is something which people wish with the *superego* and not merely with the *id* or *ego*. Stating this sociologically, a value implies a *culturally approved* wish. Not all values, however, are cultural values. It is possible for an individual to have true values which seem more or less unique to him, or at least, are not shared generally by persons surrounding him. In such a case, the individual who has the value has developed something in his own personality structure which plays the role of culture. His "higher self" (*superego*) must approve the wish even though it is opposed by his fellow men, otherwise it would not be a value. We may assume that in practically every such case, the individual does have actual support from one or more other individuals. (6) A corollary of (5) is that a value is always regarded as desirable for *other persons* as well as for the self. Anything which people want exclusively for themselves is not a value.

(7) The ridicule of a value arouses anger in those who hold it. Values must always be taken *seriously*. (8) Similarly when a value is directly *attacked*, or is ignored under circumstances normally calling it to attention, those who hold the value are resentful.

(9) Certain supreme *emotional satisfactions*⁶ are commonly attained in connection with values, and the capacity to produce such satisfactions is one of the chief sources of value. The technique for producing the maximum satisfaction is to bring the valued situation rather suddenly and completely into the experience of the subjects, especially after a period of suspense in which the value was threatened, or unpleasant emotions were otherwise produced. The sequence of the typical love story is illustrative.

(10) A value serves commonly as a theme for dramatization; the attainment of the value in high degree by a leading person in real life or by a fictional hero, tends to give other persons holding the value *vicarious emotional satisfaction*. Thus Edward VIII plays the role of Great Lover, exemplifying almost every detail of the modern romantic complex. The

⁶ Namely the experience we may roughly call thrill or ecstasy. There is not space to argue here the essential identity of various emotions which go under different names. It is difficult for the layman to accept the probability that religious ecstasy may be physiologically the same thing as romantic thrill and also as the serene elevation of spirit produced in many persons by certain kinds of music. Again, the word "thrill" is used to designate two or more very distinct kinds of emotion.

attitudes of individuals and groups toward his abdication and marriage are exceedingly diagnostic of their scales-of-values.

(11) A value is something for which people work, and undergo some pain or unpleasantness, if necessary. Sometimes this can be measured, and the value may thus be said to have a "price." In "heart-balm" lawsuits, the values of affection are translated, however crudely and inaccurately, into money values.

(12) An act which is otherwise illegal or immoral tends to be *condoned* or *excused* by a culture, when the act was motivated by a high value of that culture. Thus we say that "love excuses many things." Our traditional culture often excuses a murder which is committed to protect the "sanctity of the home," or to save a daughter from "dishonor."

Changing values pertaining to the family. (1) We have already described the *romantic complex*. The extreme idealization of free choice of partner, which seems even to gain value by overcoming the will of hostile parents and other obstacles, is a modern product. There is an avvaluation of "pairing off" in all kinds of social activities, an increased demand for privacy during the courtship period.⁷ The romantic short story emphasizes novelty, adventure, intense thrill, and exclusiveness. Certain bizarre and unrealistic aspects of fictional "romance" are being increasingly discredited; *intelligent* choice is now rising as a value, but *free* choice is not being devaluated.

(2) At least in Anglo-Saxon culture the *physical sex experience* has been undergoing a marked avvaluation. It is no longer a necessary evil to be tolerated as a part of human weakness, nor a pleasurable duty to be performed only as an instrument of procreation. It would seem that classical, Chinese, Samoan, and Trobriand cultures, at least, place or placed high positive values upon sex. The Manus culture, on the other hand, seems to resemble more the Puritan and Victorian tradition in this respect.⁸

This avvaluation of sex experience does not in itself imply any increased tolerance for sex outside of marriage. Such an increased tolerance, however, is coming about as an indirect and probably inevitable result. A part of the so-called "sex freedom" of today is simply the devaluation of the marriage ceremony, together with ceremony and ritual in general. The avvaluation of sex, however, inevitably has a further effect. The attitude tends to arise: "Satisfaction, monogamously if possible, but in any case, satisfaction." Persons already married and dissatisfied with their sex life are stimulated by the surrounding ideology to demand supplementary relationships, which under the traditional culture, they would have regarded as unthinkable. It is probable that with this major value change we are having a greater volume of *satisfying* sex experience, both inside and outside of marriage, and that marriage has gained more in this way than have the outside relationships.

⁷ Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929, p. 283.

⁸ Margaret Mead, *Growing up in New Guinea*, William Morrow, 1930.

It is difficult to say which, if any, of several interdependent value changes is primary. The present author has advanced the theory that a certain primacy belongs to the devaluation of the reproductive process, conceived as an inviolable, divinely ordained ritual.⁹ This devaluation has been due to scientific biology. Once reproduction is widely understood as a natural process, it becomes difficult to maintain it as something sacredly immune to human interference. Hence contraception becomes tolerable, abortion slightly less intolerable, and "voluntary parenthood" even becomes a positive value. This change reinforces, if it did not actually inaugurate, the avvaluation of sex as a personal satisfaction.

Avvaluating sex experience does not necessarily imply devaluating concealment of that experience. We are having a gradual weakening of the taboo on nudity; but the groups which have completely broken this taboo are very careful to dissociate nudity from sexual stimulation.¹⁰ What the relations between the two changes would be in larger and unselected groups we do not know. There is no appreciable tendency to relax the concealment of the overt sexual act, but verbal descriptions and even pictures are creeping into artistic or scientific literature where they would have been unthinkable before.

(3) The various values and taboos placed upon the appearance, occupations, and behavior of the two sexes may be generalized under the heading, *differentiation versus assimilation* of the sexes. Clearly, we are moving toward assimilation of the sexes in their dress, their occupations, their sex behavior codes and their leisure-time activities. While some psychiatrists and sociologists protest that cultural change is here putting too great a strain upon biological fact, Margaret Mead brings forth ethnological observations, which if adequately corroborated in fact and in her interpretations, will invalidate most of these protests.¹¹ She found three primitive tribes in New Guinea. In one of these, both men and women have the aggressive "hard boiled" kind of behavior which is typically "masculine" in our culture. In a second tribe both sexes are "feminine" in our sense. In a third tribe the sex behavior characteristics of our culture are exactly reversed. She finds that these sex traits among these peoples are in every case supported by the ideology of the tribe; which strongly argues that they are due to culture and not to biological differences between the tribes.

There is an avvaluation of *companionship* between the sexes in sports and activities formerly open only to males. To this is related a greater demand on the part of married women to be freed from continuous duty in the home. Not only are women becoming more like men in a general sense, but they are becoming highly individuated. We no longer have men and *Woman*, but men and women.

⁹ *The Family*, John Wiley and Sons, 1934, pp. 242-243, 219-224.

¹⁰ H. C. Warren, "Social Nudism and the Body Taboo," *Psychol. Rev.*, 40, 1933, 160-183.

¹¹ *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, William Morrow, 1935.

Do these changes in social patterns constitute value changes? They do not always and in every respect, but certainly a change of values is involved. We not only recognize this greater assimilation of sex characteristics as a fact, but a large number of us approve it, idealize it and want to advance it still further. There are others who wish to reverse the process. Some men are sexually stimulated by the "free" comradely woman, others by the woman who is "feminine" in the older sense. Socialism places a high positive value upon assimilation, fascism values the older differentiation and is trying to restore it. Its efforts to do so in Germany have not been altogether successful,¹² but its value scale is apparent. Along with this, there goes a revaluation and heightened emotionality of companionship among males.

(4) *Monogamous exclusiveness* of the sex relation, whether or not it has decreased as a fact, has not in general been devaluated.¹³ There is some reason to think it is rising in value. As other arguments for control of sex behavior become less cogent, sex- and moral-educators are forced to rely increasingly on the idea that exclusiveness beautifies and ennobles intimacy. This idea appears to be more prominent in the present college generation than it was a decade ago, whatever be the actual behavior.

This value has paradoxical relations to the three aforementioned. On the one hand, romanticism, the beautification and idealization of the sex relation, and the intensified pair-companionship which goes with sex assimilation, conspire to produce intense monogamous relations. The tendency is to concentrate the whole affectional and sexual life upon the one partner, to spend a great deal of time with that partner, and to disdain the kind of relationship for sex only which was prostitution. The fact that these intense monogamous relationships frequently break down, leading to divorce and remarriage, does not destroy the value that we here discuss. We are talking about monogamous exclusiveness (while it lasts), not about life-long marital permanence.

On the other hand, this very intensification, these uplifted expectations of monogamous bliss, lead to increased frustrations, which call forth substitute satisfactions. Pluralistic love creeps in to fill life's transitions and interludes, or as a permanent adjustment for some persons. It may acquire, *with some groups*, a positive and even superior value. If some forms of single-standard sex pluralism do rise above the value-plane of the old prostitution and acquire a limited measure of respectability, this will not necessarily mean any devaluation of monogamy as the preferred pattern of life. *The major fact is the avvaluation of love between the sexes in all its forms.*

(5) *Life-long permanence* of the marital relation is a value closely tied

¹² Judith Grunfeld, "Women Workers in Nazi Germany," *Nation*, March 13, 1937.

¹³ As a fact it has probably decreased among women and remained the same among men. See G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage*, Boni, 1929, p. 384.

up with our Christian ideology. "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." This value does not logically imply monogamous exclusiveness, and indeed may be somewhat more difficult of attainment with the latter. It is significant to compare the scale of values represented by the laws of South Carolina and in the codes of the Anglican and Catholic churches, with the values implied in the laws of our western high-divorce states on the other hand. Under the first named ideology, toleration of adultery may often be preferable to divorce; under the second, divorce is assumed to be preferable. The future of these value relations in America is in doubt. There are trends in both directions and it is possible that some regions and social groups will move one way and others in the other way. The ideal of life-long permanence is not wholly dependent upon the traditional religion. It may gain a new lease of life from certain elements of the romantic complex and from the modern recognition of emotional security as a primary need. It is possible that some sort of pattern of "marital vacations" might aid eventually in the strengthening of life-long partnership.

(6) One traditional value of the parent-child relationship was *obedience*. Obedience made it possible for the two generations to be together in work and in play; for it assured that adult interests and administrative responsibility would always have priority without the enervating tensions which arise when the tangential wishes of children must be considered. One of the most conspicuous value changes of recent years is the decline of obedience as a value in itself. Even as an instrumental value, its role is being much limited. While more families are learning to secure co-operation by democratic methods, the necessity for speed and economy of effort in everyday life is a great obstacle. Consequently, while a certain equalitarian companionship between parent and child is now becoming a value, there is also an increase in segregation. Children's groups, and separate routines and space for children, are increasing. The question now arises: "At what age should a child begin to eat at the family dinner table?" Upper class adults are amused or annoyed at the practice of lower class families of bringing their children with them into all kinds of adult gatherings; they are also surprised at the control which the latter are able to exercise under such circumstances.

(7) There are values pertaining to the *home* as such. Among many individuals and in our past rather generally, there was a value merely in living in the same house throughout life, or having an ancestral abode to which one might return. Few of us today can realize *emotionally* the sentiment which inspired "The Old Oaken Bucket." Homesickness in the literal sense was probably a more frequent result of moving in the past than it is now. Value now attaches more to the standard of physical living or to a home of certain quality, rather than to a particular place. As neighborhoods change in physical character, business class families tend to move

so as to maintain or raise the quality of house and neighborhood. The value placed upon having an individual house or apartment with complete equipment still lingers on without great change. This value is one obstacle to the attainment of other objectives by a certain proportion of the population. It will probably lose its all pervading dominance, as the possibilities and advantages of various forms of group housing are demonstrated.

If the future of our economic-political system lies in the direction of socialism, most of these values relating to the family will probably continue to change in the directions in which they have been changing, unless and until some of these changes have reached subcultural limits (i.e., limits imposed by physical nature plus any universal inevitable characteristics of human social life). The appearance of Fascism, however, which Niebuhr calls "The Revival of Feudalism,"¹⁴ brings the possibility that some of these directional trends, in some if not all countries, will reverse themselves. Thus in Germany the new ideology calls for a reemphasis upon sex differentiation, the rural family homestead with all that implies, and obedience. Yet the modern avvaluation of *scientific* control of reproduction (through sterilization, especially) is encouraged rather than reversed, and the family is to be made an instrument of the state rather than of the church or of some non-political code of mores and values.

If America and some other countries remain democratic and individualistic, the probable outcome is that individuals and groups will increasingly *differentiate* in respect to these family values.¹⁵

Individuation in values. This increased differentiation or individuation may become more important than any general mass trend. It applies not only to the seven changing family values described above, but to many other kinds of values. It has a practical importance in the treatment of maladjustments in individual families. The more persons become individuated, the more difficult it is for one to find a spouse with a similar pattern of interests and attitudes. Similarity of spousal personalities may not be necessary or even desirable in many segments of personality. But in general, similarity in *values* is conducive to harmony, because it reduces the risk of conflict over the expenditure of time and money, and because it enables the partners to find more enjoyment in joint activity. The increasing role of leisure-time activities and hobbies in modern life still further accentuates the need for marital choices based upon compatibility of values; and for a technique of *assimilation* for those who have already, perhaps unwisely, married. As Harriet Mowrer points out,¹⁶ there is a large minority of discord cases in which the conflict arises out of the interaction itself without any initial disorganization or defect of the individual personalities.

¹⁴ *Harpers*, March, 1935.

¹⁵ Joseph K. Folsom, *The Family*, John Wiley and Sons, 1934, chap. 18.

¹⁶ *Personality Disorganization and Domestic Discord*, American Book Co., 1935.

The family adjustment of a person is not entirely to be explained by his role in childhood, or even his habitual role in relation to persons in general. It is important to consider his major life drive and his attitudes toward the larger and more impersonal environment, including vocations and recreations.

Therefore, an analysis of individual personalities in terms of values might be a most useful instrument in family counseling and in social case work generally. A man rigidly conditioned in his childhood to patriarchal values is a poor risk for a woman whose values are those of the liberal equalitarian family system. But inventories and analyses of values should not be confined to the values above discussed in connection with mass trends of change in the family. There are many other values which are not showing certain or uniform trends of social change, or which only indirectly relate to the family as such, but which nevertheless constitute important differentia among individuals, groups, or whole cultures.

For example, a study of the attitudes of recipients of old age assistance¹⁷ shows a marked difference between Upstate New York oldsters and those in New York City, in the greater reluctance of the former to live with their children or to have help from their relatives in the management of their affairs. The present so-called disintegration of the American family, especially in its age-versus-youth aspect, is not entirely a matter of recent urbanism, but finds certain of its contributing or at least preparatory factors in the old Puritan or Yankee culture. That is, the impact of urbanization upon our family life might not have been so powerful if we had not been prepared already for individualism by several generations of Puritanism, which tended to value family solidarity merely as a stern duty, a temporary procedure leading toward the complete personal independence of the children when grown. On the other hand one senses, among later cultural groups which have settled with us, a tendency to value family solidarity more for its own sake, and to find in it direct pleasure values not so fully experienced by the Puritan.

Spranger's six "values," the economic, political, theoretic, esthetic, social, and religious, furnish a suggestive framework for such an inventory of values.¹⁸ Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* suggests certain major value-patterns characteristic of certain cultures, and also of various individuals in every culture.¹⁹

Valuation of the family as an institution. Some thinkers look upon this individuation as a process which inevitably must soon reverse itself,²⁰ or

¹⁷ C. Margaret Morgan, Study to be published in 1937 in *Archives of Psychology*. See also Folsom and Morgan in *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 2, April 1937, 223-229.

¹⁸ See Gordon W. Allport and Philip E. Vernon, *A Study of Values*, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1931 (a pamphlet giving directions and explanations of "A Test for Personal Values," based on Spranger's concepts).

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*

²⁰ See Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *The Family and Society*, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935.

should be made to do so in order to avoid catastrophe. They see the present state of family values as an extreme demoralization. In the long run, they say that the family does not exist mainly for individual pleasure values, but the *institution-as-such* has social values (social control, race perpetuation, transmission of culture from one generation to the next, and so on) to which individual pleasure must be subordinated. There is no space here to give this question the treatment it merits. A few brief hints may serve to indicate the lines of analysis and investigation called for. (1) Are not *all* values, to some extent, sources of individual pleasure? (2) Granting that a society, to conserve its existence, always must or does condition the emotions of its individuals to some set of objectives which are socially beneficial, do these objectives or values need to be primarily on the level of *institutions-as-such*? Is it not possible for a society to be controlled by values which emphasize biological health and interpersonal relations in small groups? (3) Are we now really undergoing a *general* demoralization or devaluation of ideals, or merely a *transvaluation*? (4) Can "progressive" education, as it hopes, prepare young people to *choose* each his own value pattern from those offered or suggested by our conflicted and changing culture (or even by other cultures)? Can individuals so trained, by joining with partners and groups of their own choosing, make integrated and happy lives in terms of such values, despite the lack of uniformity of such values in the larger community and their lack of suprarational authority?

THE RATING AND DATING COMPLEX

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COURTSHIP may be defined as the set of processes of association among the unmarried from which, in time, permanent matings usually emerge. This definition excludes those associations which cannot normally eventuate in marriage—as between Negro and white—but allows for a period of dalliance and experimentation. In the present paper we propose to discuss the customs of courtship which prevail among college students.

Courtship practices vary from one culture group to another. In many cultures marriage eventuates from a period of sexual experimentation and trial unions; in others the innocence of the unmarried is carefully guarded until their wedding day. In some cultures the bride must be virginal at marriage; in others this is just what she must not be. Sometimes the young are allowed no liberty of choice, and everything is determined for them by their elders. Sometimes persons marry in their own age group, but in other societies older men pre-empt the young women for themselves. Although there are endless variations in courtship customs, they are always functionally related to the total configuration of the culture and the biological needs of the human animal. It is helpful to remember that in a simple, undifferentiated, and stable society a long and complex process of choosing a mate is apparently not so necessary or desirable as in our own complex, differentiated, and rapidly changing society.¹

The mores of courtship in our society are a strange composite of social heritages from diverse groups and of new usages called into existence by the needs of the time. There is a formal code of courtship which is still nominally in force, although departures from it are very numerous; the younger generation seems to find the superficial usages connected with the code highly amusing, but it is likely that it takes the central ideas quite seriously. The formal code appears to be derived chiefly from the usages of the English middle classes of a generation or so ago, although there are, of course, many other elements in it.

The usual or intended mode of operation of the formal mores of courtship—in a sense their “function”—is to induct young persons into marriage by a series of progressive commitments. In the solidary peasant community, in the frontier community, among the English middle classes of

¹ James G. Leyburn quotes an old-fashioned Boer mother who said, “I am sick of all this talk of choosing and choosing . . . If a man is healthy and does not drink, and has a good little handful of stock, and a good temper, and is a good Christian, what great difference can it make to a woman which man she takes? There is not so much difference between one man and another.” (*Frontier Folkways*, p. 129.) Such an attitude was possible in Boer society as it is not in ours.

a few decades back, and in many isolated small communities in present-day America, every step in the courtship process has a customary meaning and constitutes a powerful pressure toward taking the next step—is in fact a sort of implied commitment to take the next step. The mores formerly operated to produce a high rate of marriage at the proper age and at the same time protected most individuals from many of the possible traumatic experiences of the courtship period.

The decay of this moral structure has made possible the emergence of thrill-seeking and exploitative relationships. A thrill is merely a physiological stimulation and release of tension, and it seems curious that most of us are inclined to regard thrill-seeking with disapproval. The disapproving attitude toward thrill-seeking becomes intelligible when we recall the purpose of such emotional stirrings in the conventional mores of courtship. Whether we approve or not, courtship practices today allow for a great deal of pure thrill-seeking. Dancing, petting, necking, the automobile, the amusement park, and a whole range of institutions and practices permit or facilitate thrill-seeking behavior. These practices, which are connected with a great range of the institutions of commercialized recreation, make of courtship an amusement and a release of organic tensions. The value judgment which many lay persons and even some trained sociologists pass upon thrill-seeking arises from the organizational mores of the family—from the fact that energy is dissipated in thrills which is supposed to do the work of the world, i.e., to get people safely married.

The emergence of thrill-seeking furthers the development of exploitative relationships. As long as an association is founded on a frank and admitted barter in thrills, nothing that can be called exploitative arises. But the old mores of progressive commitment exist, along with the new customs, and peculiar relationships arise from this confusion of moralities. According to the old morality a kiss means something, a declaration of love means something, a number of Sunday evening dates in succession means something, and these meanings are enforced by the customary law, while under the new morality such things may mean nothing at all—that is, they may imply no commitment of the total personality whatsoever. So it comes about that one of the persons may exploit the other for thrills on the pretense of emotional involvement and its implied commitment. When a woman exploits, it is usually for the sake of presents and expensive amusements—the common pattern of “gold-digging.” The male exploiter usually seeks thrills from the body of the woman. The fact that thrills cost money, usually the man’s money, often operates to introduce strong elements of suspicion and antagonism into the relationship.

With this general background in mind, let us turn to the courtship practices of college students. A very important characteristic of the college student is his bourgeois pattern of life. For most persons, the dominant

motive of college attendance is the desire to rise to a higher social class; behind this we should see the ideology of American life and the projection of parents' ambitions upon children. The attainment of this life goal necessitates the postponement of marriage, since it is understood that a new household must be economically independent; additional complications sometimes arise from the practice of borrowing money for college expenses. And yet persons in this group feel very strongly the cultural imperative to fall in love and marry and live happily in marriage.

For the average college student, and especially for the man, a love affair which led to immediate marriage would be tragic because of the havoc it would create in his scheme of life. Nevertheless, college students feel strongly the attractions of sex and the thrills of sex, and the sexes associate with one another in a peculiar relationship known as "dating." Dating is not true courtship, since it is supposed not to eventuate in marriage; it is a sort of dalliance relationship. In spite of the strength of the old morality among college students, dating is largely dominated by the quest of the thrill and is regarded as an amusement. The fact that college attendance usually removes the individual from normal courtship association in his home community should be mentioned as a further determinant of the psychological character of dating.

In many colleges, dating takes place under conditions determined by a culture complex which we may call the "rating and dating complex." The following description of this complex on one campus is probably typical of schools of the sort:

X College, a large state-supported school, is located in a small city at a considerable distance from larger urban areas. The school is the only industry of the community. There are few students who live at home, and therefore the interaction of the young is but little influenced by the presence of parents. The students of this college are predominantly taken from the lower half of the middle classes, and constitute a remarkably homogeneous group; numerous censuses of the occupations of fathers and of living expenses seem to establish this fact definitely. Nevertheless, about half of the male students live in fraternities, where the monthly bill is usually forty-five or fifty dollars a month, rarely as high as fifty-five. There is intense competition among the fraternities. The desire for mobility of class, as shown by dozens of inquiries, is almost universal in the group and is the principal verbalized motive for college attendance.

Dating at X College consists of going to college or fraternity dances, the movies, college entertainments, and to fraternity houses for victrola dances and "necking"; coeds are permitted in the fraternity parlors, if more than one is present. The high points of the social season are two house parties and certain formal dances. An atypical feature of this campus is the unbalanced sex ratio, for there are about six boys to every girl; this makes necessary the large use of so-called "imports" for the more important occasions, and brings it about that many boys do not date at all or confine their activities to prowling about in small industrial communities nearby; it also gives every coed a relatively high position in the scale of desirability; it would be difficult to say whether it discourages or encourages the formation of permanent

attachments. Dating is almost exclusively the privilege of fraternity men, the use of the fraternity parlor and the prestige of fraternity membership being very important. Freshman men are forbidden by student tradition to have dates with coeds.²

Within the universe which we have described, competition for dates among both men and women is extremely keen. Like every other process of competition, this one determines a distributive order. There are certain men who are at the top of the social scramble; they may be placed in a hypothetical Class A. There are also certain coeds who are near the top of the scale of dating desirability, and they also are in Class A. The tendency is for Class A men to date principally Class A women. Beneath this class of men and women are as many other classes as one wishes to create for the purposes of analysis. It should be remembered that students on this campus are extremely conscious of these social distinctions and of their own position in the social hierarchy. In speaking of another student, they say, "He rates," or "He does not rate," and they extend themselves enormously in order that they may rate or seem to rate.

Young men are desirable dates according to their rating on the scale of campus values. In order to have Class A rating they must belong to one of the better fraternities, be prominent in activities, have a copious supply of spending money, be well-dressed, "smooth" in manners and appearance, have a "good line," dance well, and have access to an automobile. Members of leading fraternities are especially desirable dates; those who belong to fraternities with less prestige are correspondingly less desirable. I have been able to validate the qualities mentioned as determinants of campus prestige by reference to large numbers of student judges.

The factors which appear to be important for girls are good clothes, a smooth line, ability to dance well, and popularity as a date. The most important of these factors is the last, for the girl's prestige depends upon dating more than anything else; here as nowhere else nothing succeeds like success. Therefore the clever coed contrives to give the impression of being much sought after even if she is not. It has been reported by many observers that a girl who is called to the telephone in the dormitories will often allow herself to be called several times, in order to give all the other girls ample opportunity to hear her paged. Coeds who wish campus prestige must never be available for last minute dates; they must avoid being seen too often with the same boy, in order that others may not be frightened away or discouraged; they must be seen when they go out, and therefore must go to the popular (and expensive) meeting places; they must have many partners at the dances. If they violate the conventions at all, they must do so with great secrecy

² Folsom, who has studied this same process, has come to essentially similar conclusions concerning the exclusion of certain persons from the dating process: "This factor is especially prominent in state universities with a vigorous fraternity culture and social stratification. Such institutions are attended by students from an unusually wide range on the social scale; there is a tendency to protect one's social ranking in college through a certain snobbishness, and there is also a great drive toward social climbing. Fraternities are important agencies in this struggle for prestige. The fraternities and sororities apply considerable pressure to the 'dating' of their members. One gets merits, whether formally recorded or not, for dating with a coed of a high-ranking fraternity, demerits for association with a non-fraternity person. The net result of this competition might seem to be to match each person with one of fairly equal rank, as happens in society in general. But there is another result. It is to discourage matching altogether among the lower ranks. The fire of competitive dating burns hot at the top, smoulders at the bottom. The low-ranking student often has more to gain by abstaining from dating than from dating with a person of his own rank." (J. K. Folsom, *The Family*, p. 341.)

and discretion; they do not drink in groups or frequent the beer-parlors. Above all, the coed who wishes to retain Class A standing must consistently date Class A men.

Cressey has pointed out that the taxi-dancer has a descending cycle of desirability. As a new girl in the dance hall, she is at first much sought after by the most eligible young men. Soon they tire of her and desert her for some newer recruit. Similarly the coed has a descending cycle of popularity on the campus which we are describing, although her struggle is not invariably a losing one. The new girl, the freshman coed, starts out with a great wave of popularity; during her freshman year she has many dates. Slowly her prestige declines, but in this case only to the point at which she reaches the level which her qualities permanently assure her. Her descent is expedited by such "mistakes," from the viewpoint of campus prestige, as "going steady" with one boy (especially if he is a senior who will not return the following year), by indiscretions, and by too ready availability for dates. Many of the girls insist that after two years of competitive dating they have tired of it and are interested in more permanent associations.

This thrill-dominated, competitive process involves a number of fundamental antagonisms between the men and the women, and the influence of the one sex group accentuates these. Writes one student informant, a girl, "Wary is the only word that I can apply to the attitude of men and women students toward each other. The men, who have been warned so repeatedly against coeds, are always afraid the girls are going to 'gold-dig' them. The coeds wonder to what degree they are discussed and are constantly afraid of being placed on the black list of the fraternities. Then too they wonder to what extent they can take any man seriously without being taken for a 'ride'." Status in the one-sex group depends upon avoiding exploitation by the opposite sex. Verbatim records of a number of fraternity "bull sessions" were obtained a few years ago. In these sessions members are repeatedly warned that they are slipping, those who have fallen are teased without mercy, and others are warned not to be soft. And almost all of the participants pretend a ruthlessness toward the opposite sex which they do not feel.

This competitive dating process often inflicts traumas upon individuals who stand low in the scale of courtship desirability. "While I was at X College," said a thirty year old alumnus, "I had just one date. That was a blind date, arranged for me by a friend. We went to the dorm, and after a while my girl came down and we were introduced. She said, 'Oh, I'm so sorry. I forgot my coat. I'll have to go get it.' She never came down again. Naturally I thought, 'Well what a hit I made!'" We have already seen that nonfraternity men are practically excluded from dating; it remains to note that many girls elect not to date rather than take the dates available to them. One girl writes as follows: "A girl's choice of whom to fall in love with is limited by the censorship of the one-sex group. Every boy that she dates is discussed and criticized by the other members of the group. This rigid control often keeps a girl from dating at all. If a girl is a member of a group in which the other girls are rated higher on the dating scale than she, she is often unable to get dates with boys who are considered desirable by her friends. In that event she has to decide whether to date the boys that she can and choose girl friends who would approve, or she must resign herself to not dating."

Since the class system, or gradient of dating desirability on the campus, is clearly recognized and adjusted to by the students themselves, there are interesting accommodations and rationalizations which appear as a result of inferior status. Although members of Class A may be clearly in the ascendant as regards prestige, certain groups of Class B may contest the position with them and may insist upon a measuring stick which will give them a favorable position. Rationalizations which enable Class D men and women to accept one another are probably never completely effective.

The accommodations and rationalizations worked out by one group of girls who were toward the bottom of the scale of campus desirability are typical. Four of these girls were organized in one tightly compact "bunch." All four lived off campus, and worked for their room and board. They had little money to spend for clothes, so there was extensive borrowing of dresses. Members of the group co-operated in getting dates for one another. All of them accepted eleventh hour invitations, and probably realized that some stigma of inferiority was attached to such ready availability, but they managed to save their faces by seeming very reluctant to accept such engagements, and at length doing so as a result of the persuasion of another member of the bunch. The men apparently saw through these devices, and put these girls down as last minute dates, so that they rarely received any other invitations. The bunch went through "dating cycles" with several fraternities in the course of a year, starting when one of the girls got a date with one member of the fraternity, and ending, apparently, when all the girls had lost their desirability in that fraternity.

Partly as result of the unbalanced sex ratio, the boys of the group which we are discussing have a widespread feeling of antagonism toward the coeds. This antagonism is apparently based upon the fact that most of the male students are unable to date with coeds, at least not on terms acceptable to themselves. As a result of this, boys take great pride in the "imports" whom they bring in for house parties, and it is regarded as slightly disgraceful in some groups to date a coed for one of the major parties. Other men in the dateless group take on the role of misogynists—and read Schopenhauer.

During the winter term the preponderance of men assures to every coed a relatively high bargaining power. Every summer witnesses a surprising reversal of this situation. Hundreds of women school teachers flock to this school for the summer term, and men are very scarce; smooth, unmarried boys of college age are particularly scarce. The school-teachers are older than the boys; they have usually lost some of their earlier attractiveness; they have been living for some months or years within the school-teacher role. They are man-hungry, and they have a little money. As a result, there is a great proliferation of highly commercialized relations. The women lend their cars to their men friends, but continue to pay for repairs and gasoline; they take the boys out to dinner, treat them to drinks, and buy expensive presents for them. And many who do not go so far are available for sex relations on terms which demand no more than a transitory sort of commitment from the man.

The rating and dating complex varies enormously from one school to another. In one small, coeducational school, the older coeds instruct the younger that it is all right for them to shop around early in the year, but by November they should settle down and date someone steadily. As a result, a boy who dates a girl once is said to "have a fence around her," and the competition which we have described is considerably hampered in its operation. In other schools, where the sex ratio is about equal, and particularly in the smaller institutions, "going steady" is probably a great deal more common than on the campus described. It should be pointed out that the frustrations and traumas imposed upon unsuccessful candidates by the practice of "going steady" (monopolistic competition) are a great deal easier to bear than those which arise from pure competition. In one school the girls are uniformly of a higher class origin than the boys, so that

there is relatively little association between them; the girls go with older men not in college, the boys with high school girls and other "townies." In the school which is not coeducational, the dating customs are vastly different, although, for the women at least, dating is still probably a determinant of prestige.

True courtship sometimes emerges from the dating process, in spite of all the forces which are opposed to it. The analysis of the interaction process involved seems to be quite revealing. We may suppose that in our collegiate culture one begins to fall in love with a certain unwillingness, at least with an ambivalent sort of willingness. Both persons become emotionally involved as a result of a summatory process in which each step powerfully influences the next step and the whole process displays a directional trend toward the culmination of marriage; the mores of dating break down and the behavior of the individuals is governed by the older mores of progressive commitment. In the fairly typical case, we may suppose the interaction to be about as follows: The affair begins with the lightest sort of involvement, each individual being interested in the other but assuming no obligations as to the continuation of the affair. There are some tentatives of exploitation at the beginning; "the line" is a conventionalized attempt on the part of the young man to convince the young woman that he has already at this early stage fallen seriously in love with her—a sort of exaggeration, sometimes a burlesque, of coquetry—it may be that each person, by a pretence of great involvement, invites the other to rapid sentiment-formation—each encourages the other to fall in love by pretending that he has already done so. If either rises to the bait, a special type of interaction ensues; it may be that the relation becomes exploitative in some degree and it is likely that the relationship becomes one in which control follows the principle of least interest, i.e., that person controls who is less interested in the continuation of the affair. Or it may be that the complete involvement of the one person constellates the other in the same pattern, but this is less likely to happen in college than in the normal community processes of courtship.

If both persons stand firm at this early juncture, there may ensue a series of periodic crises which successively redefine the relationship on deeper levels of involvement. One form which the interaction process may assume is that of "lover's quarrels," with which the novelists have familiarized us. A and B begin an affair on the level of light involvement. A becomes somewhat involved, but believes that B has not experienced a corresponding growth of feeling, and hides his involvement from B, who is, however, in exactly the same situation. The conventionalized "line" facilitates this sort of "pluralistic ignorance," because it renders meaningless the very words by means of which this state of mind could be disclosed. Tension grows between A and B, and is resolved by a crisis, such as a

quarrel, in which the true feelings of the two are revealed. The affair, perhaps, proceeds through a number of such crises until it reaches the culmination of marriage. Naturally, there are other kinds of crises which usher in the new definition of the situation.

Such affairs, in contrast to "dating," have a marked directional trend; they may be arrested on any level, or they may be broken off at any point, but they may not ordinarily be turned back to a lesser degree of involvement; in this sense they are irreversible. As this interaction process goes on, the process of idealization is re-enforced by the interaction of personalities. A idealizes B, and presents to her that side of his personality which is consistent with his idealized conception of her; B idealizes A, and governs her behavior toward him in accordance with her false notions of his nature; the process of idealization is mutually re-enforced in such a way that it must necessarily lead to an increasing divorce from reality. As serious sentimental involvement develops, the individual comes to be increasingly occupied, on the conscious level at least, with the positive aspects of the relationship; increasingly he loses his ability to think objectively about the other person, to safeguard himself or to deal with the relationship in a rational way; we may say, indeed, that one falls in love when he reaches the point where sentiment-formation overcomes objectivity.

The love relationship in its crescendo phase attracts an ever larger proportion of the conative trends of the personality; for a time it may seem to absorb all of the will of the individual and to dominate his imagination completely; the individual seems to become a machine specially designed for just one purpose; in consequence, the persons are almost wholly absorbed in themselves and their affair; they have an *egoïsme à deux* which verges upon *folie à deux*. All of these processes within the pair-relationship are accentuated by the changes in the attitude of others, who tend to treat the pair as a social unity, so far as their association is recognized and approved.

MATE SELECTION

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MEN and women tend to select their mates on the basis of general resemblance in such traits as age¹ and socio-economic background,² and propinquity. The correlations of assortative mating for IQ and educational level are fairly high (.60 to .70) and most other desirable qualities are correlated with these, even beauty in women being correlated with intelligence to the extent of about .40.

Since 90% of the population that reaches middle life is or has been married, there is evidently no general quantitative problem in failure to mate. No one can doubt that at least 10% of the population ought not to marry. Indeed, if one adds together such groups as the insane, the feeble-minded, the alcoholic, the homosexual, the epileptic, and those with various physical diseases and disabilities, it is likely to produce a pessimistic state of mind: one may conclude that too many people are marrying already.

The most practical approach to the problem of mate selection is therefore to analyze it in more detail, asking how some undesirable partners can be eliminated, how some desirable partners can be aided to mate, and generally how people who do marry can be helped to select more satisfactory partners.

About half the states require some sort of a physical examination (usually of the male only) before a marriage license is issued. The purpose is mainly to prevent the spread of venereal diseases. A more thoroughgoing examination would be desirable, applying to both sexes and including family history; but it is doubtful whether such a law could be passed or enforced at present.

Absurdly low age limits are now being raised. One of the most valuable restrictions has proved to be the requirement of three to five days delay after application, before a marriage license is issued. This prevents many freak marriages, fraudulent marriages, drunken marriages, runaway marriages, and others in which the choice of mates is likely to be unwise.³

State laws have generally made some attempt to prevent the marriage of the insane and feeble-minded, but prohibitions are of little value unless implemented. Iowa and Nebraska have established registers of feeble-minded citizens, to whom a marriage license must not be issued; Ne-

¹ W. C. McKain, Jr. and C. A. Anderson, "Assortative Mating," *Sociol. Soc. Research*, 21(5), May-June 1937, 411-418.

² Paul Popenoe, "Assortative Mating for Occupational Level," *Jour. Soc. Psych.*, May 1937, 270-274.

³ Paul Popenoe, "Some Effects of a State Law Requiring Delay Before a Marriage License Is Issued," *Jour. Soc. Hyg.* 15(8), November 1929, 449-456.

braska allows marriage if one of the partners has been sterilized. Germany has gone farther than any other country in enforcing restrictions on marriage. Prohibitions will not prevent illegitimate matings, but widespread sterilization such as Germany is also enforcing will prevent much illegitimate parenthood. Nebraska, however, has so far done little to enforce its sterilization law. In the United States, dependence for some time to come will have to be placed on popular education rather than on legal restrictions,—a fact which makes attention to the subject the more imperative in high school and college courses.

The other two problems—how some desirable partners may be aided to mate, who otherwise would remain unmated, and how all persons who mate may be helped to choose more wisely,—may conveniently be considered together, since the issues they involve are not easily separable. The greatest problem is offered by educated women, whose marriage rate is still unduly low in spite of some improvement during recent decades. Their difficulties result from a number of factors, some relating to personal qualifications or “inherent marriageability,” others to the opportunities for meeting suitable partners. Among these difficulties are the following:

1. Leaving obvious physical defects out of account, an important part in marriageability seems to be played by sexual normality. Women who present physical signs of supposed sexual normality marry earliest.⁴ The large amount of homosexual experience reported⁵ in the history of educated unmarried women is doubtless partly cause and partly effect, but suggests that failure to wed is sometimes due to inverted attitudes. To the extent that homosexuality is psychologically and socially conditioned, it is preventable and even curable. This whole field of sexual development is one of the most obscure areas of human biology; the Terman-Miles scale for the measurement of masculinity and femininity should lead to progress in its exploration. Preliminary results⁶ do not reveal any marked tendency to mate selection on the basis of degree of femininity (which may be a very different thing from the physiological normality mentioned above), though they do indicate⁷ that the happiest marriages are those of women with the most pronounced femininity.

Many other persons of both sexes are unmarriageable because of emotional immaturity and infantile fixations. With girls these difficulties are likely to take the form of a fear of sex. With boys, the Institute's observations bear out the popular opinion that a mother-fixation is responsible for

⁴ Walter C. Alvarez, “Blood Pressure in Women As Influenced by the Sexual Organs,” *Arch. Internal Med.*, 37, May 1926, 597-626.

⁵ Katherine Bement Davis, *Factors in the Sex Lives of 2200 Women*, New York, 1929.

⁶ Lewis M. Terman and Catherine Cox Miles, *Sex and Personality*, New York, 1937.

⁷ L. M. Terman and Paul Bittenwieser, “Personality Factors in Marital Compatibility: II,” *Jour. Soc. Psych.*, 6(3), August 1935, 267-289.

the celibacy of many old bachelors who otherwise might have been superior husbands. Growing up in a broken home probably handicaps one in mate selection as well as in marital happiness.⁸

An excessive paranoid component of the personality is a serious handicap, the etiology of which is obscure. Since it is associated with the introvert temperament and the asthenic body-build, it may have a constitutional basis. It has been explained psychoanalytically as resulting from latent homosexuality, but there is no evidence that this is generally true. In the light of the Institute's observations, it deserves more attention than it has received.

Another handicap (as to which statistical evidence is lacking, however, as in most other aspects of the whole problem of mate selection) is the erroneous idea of many educated women that their diplomas should make them especially attractive to desirable husbands, who, they suppose, are particularly yearning for intellectual comradeship in a wife.

In a study⁹ of 250 highly successful and also highly educated married couples, inquiry was particularly directed to the question why the partners found each other so satisfactory. What was it in the individual that made the spouse think him or her so superlative? Most of the women stressed companionability. Not so the men. The qualification that the man particularly admired in his wife was "her ability to handle the job,"—to be equal to the many responsibilities that marriage placed on her.

In addition, though they did not emphasize it, one may be sure that the wife was valued for her feminine attractiveness, her emotionally satisfying qualities and her ability to enhance the husband's ego.

Now if a college girl lacks these two qualities,—domestic competence and emotional attractiveness,—that a man really wants, she will not go far by putting forward as her only asset something that he does not particularly want, namely, an assumed capacity to satisfy him intellectually.

2. Supposing one to have an adequate and not unmarriedable personality, the technique of mate-attraction may be decisive. It is closely associated with some of the factors that have just been mentioned. Educated women often stand in their own light because of erroneous ideas of sex psychology that have been circulated as dogmas of feminist faith during the past generation. Such a woman, failing to interest a possible husband, sometimes rationalizes her own inadequacy by condemning the mores which discourage women from taking the initiative. If custom allowed her to seek out a man and propose to him, she hints, she would long since have had a home of her own.

The Terman-Miles identification of aggressiveness as perhaps the chief

⁸ Paul Popenoe and Donna Wicks. "Marital Happiness in Two Generations," *Mental Hygiene*, 21(2), April 1937, 218-223.

⁹ Chase Going Woodhouse, "A Study of 250 Successful Families," *Social Forces*, 8, June 1930, 511-532.

factor in masculinity illuminates this question of "bi-sexual initiative" in mating. The tendency for the male to take the initiative in sexual affairs,—the role of the female being seductive and alluring rather than aggressive,—goes back in evolution not only far beyond the human, but even far beyond the mammalian, stage. It appears to be one of the fundamental reactions of the organism, and it is very unlikely that any woman can disregard it safely at the present time. Certainly one of the common complaints of unhappy husbands is that their wives are too aggressive, of unhappy wives that their husbands are not aggressive enough.

The demand that woman be allowed to become the aggressor in mate selection is sometimes merely a reflection of the "masculine protest" which Alfred Adler has described so fully. No law now prevents a woman from proposing, but common observation shows that it is, as a rule, not worth while for her to do so. The woman who is not clever enough to maneuver a man into a position where he will propose, might not be clever enough to hold a man after she got one.

Discussion of the technique of "getting your man,"—or woman, as the case may be,—is beyond the scope of this paper.¹⁰ An outstanding difficulty of some men in winning a suitable mate is their own egocentricity and their failure to offer that companionability which almost every educated woman seeks. An outstanding difficulty of some women is their tendency, already mentioned, to try to behave in too many respects like second-class men instead of like first-class women. A realistic study of the psychology of sex, beginning not later than the high school, is urgently needed to improve mate selection.

3. Age is one of the factors that tells most heavily against the educated woman. She will probably not graduate from college before 22; at that age one-half the native white women of the United States are already married. Each year of delay thereafter impairs her chances doubly: the available men are not only diminishing in number by marriage to other girls, but also by the operation of the age differential. This means that the average disparity between the ages of husband and wife increases steadily. In Philadelphia¹¹ the average man of 25 married a girl of 22.2, a difference of 2.8 years between them. The average man of 35 married a girl not of 32 but of 28.5, the difference of 6.5 years being nearly two and one-half times as great as for the earlier marriage. This means that as the girl grows older, the number of eligible men diminishes not proportionately but very much more rapidly. There are relatively few bachelors at 35, still fewer at 40, who are in every respect good prospects as husbands.

If the college girl takes a job, then, for a few years after graduation, the

¹⁰ Paul Popenoe, *Modern Marriage: A Handbook*. New York, 1925.

¹¹ James H. S. Bossard, "The Age Factor in Marriage," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 38(4), January 1933, 536-547.

delay in mating means that her statistical chances of matrimony approach the vanishing point.

The educated girl who wants to marry successfully should begin to consider the subject seriously from her early college years. So far, she will get little help from the curriculum. The colleges are moving toward education for marriage, perhaps even moving rapidly; but they still have a long journey ahead of them. Of the courses in the family that are now available, too many are timid and pedantic, dealing with historical speculations about the primitive matriarchate, for instance, which will not arouse much anxiety in the minds of trustees or alumni, and terminating safely in the colonial period or with a glance at the Industrial Revolution. The hearty welcome given to some really good courses now being taught is evidence that they will eventually become universal.

Meanwhile, the young woman must take the age-differential into account. She should not confine her "dates" to classmates of her own age, but should also cultivate the acquaintance of men a few years older than herself, who would be established in their businesses or professions and ready to marry her as soon as she graduates.

4. The "mating gradient" is another of the college girl's most serious handicaps. This is the widespread (and praiseworthy) tendency of women to seek to marry above their own level; and of men to want to marry below. In one California study, the average IQ of the husband was found to be 8 points above that of his wife; in a second, two-thirds of the men were found to have married women with lower IQ's than their own; in a third, 43% of the men married women with fewer years of formal education, only 24% women with more schooling than their own.

The college girl sometimes has standards that are fantastic and unattainable. In the absence of help from the curriculum, she has had to get her education on marriage from the other great educational agencies of the present day; the movies, the radio crooners, the billboards, the newspaper headlines, and the wood-pulps. It is not surprising that the standards built up from these sources sometimes do not go beyond the level of romantic infantilism.

But even if she would be content with a man no better than herself, she is still handicapped, for the men of her own level, who are rare enough to start with, are marrying girls slightly below her level. There are too few men, above her level, to go around.

Instead of lowering her own standard year by year to conform to reality, she raises it as she becomes more independent economically and culturally. Taken in connection with her own increasing age, her complaint that she meets no marriageable men is therefore all too true.

5. Occupational segregation increases her difficulties. Meetings occurring through business or professional contacts form one of the main op-

portunities for marriage selection. Philadelphians were found¹² to marry those in their own occupations nearly three times as frequently as chance would allow. But a large part of the educated women go into occupations where there is a shortage of men. The 1930 Census gives the following figures for four such occupations:

Occupation	Men	Women	Total
School teachers	116,848	635,207	752,055
Librarians	1,795	13,502	15,297
Nurses	5,464	143,664	149,128
Religious, charity, and welfare workers	14,151	26,927	41,078

In selecting a career to follow after graduation, girls might do well to consider its matrimonial opportunities more carefully.

6. The irregular geographical distribution of marriageable men further complicates the picture. As I have pointed out elsewhere,¹³ some of the northwestern states have two or three times as many such men per 100 women, as do some of the southeastern states. Cities are likely to have an excess of unmarried women, farming areas of unmarried men. In some instances, one seeking a mate would do well to move to a more favorable location.

7. Even where, in a given area, there are many young men and young women well adapted to each other, they may suffer from the lack of social machinery to bring them together.

"Pick-ups" and casual encounters at places of commercial amusement play an important part in the lives of youth of the lower socio-economic strata, but not with the educated class.¹⁴ The educational system itself is the most important matrimonial agency for the latter; but if they have not found partners in high school or college, if their occupations do not throw them with possible mates, and if they lack an assured social position based on the contacts of their families in a settled population, they may receive very little help in making those acquaintances which are as necessary to their mental hygiene as to their matrimonial prospects.

The various dormitories (Y.W.C.A., business girls' clubs, and the like) in which these girls congregate usually make little effective effort to provide a normal social life, and by remaining in them the girl becomes more and more adjusted to a world of one sex, and less and less able to make the heterosexual friendships she craves. Men's dormitories are even worse. Church young people's societies are often too small and cliquish to be

¹² Donald M. Marvin, "Occupational Proximity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *Quar. Publ. Amer. Stat. Assn.*, 16(123), September 1918, 131-150.

¹³ Paul Popenoe, "Where are the Marriageable Men?" *Social Forces*, 14(2), December 1935, 257-262.

¹⁴ Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson, *Applied Eugenics* (rev. ed.), New York, 1934.

helpful. "Get-acquainted societies" and similar *ad hoc* organizations exist in most cities but usually attract an elderly clientele and have nothing to offer to educated young people.

Too often a girl thus gets into a rut which she never leaves. She forms the habit of going about with some other girl in like case, thus baffling any man who might like to strike up an acquaintance with her. To escape from this wilderness, she must travel alone and study the map.

She must, in the first place, go where men are; but these must, in the second place, be the right kind of men; and in the third place, conditions must favor acquaintance. It is no use for her to go to a motion picture theatre, merely because there are men in the audience. Going to a cut-in dance may be almost as useless; the experience of exchanging common-places with a dozen men for three or four minutes each is not likely to lead to a permanent friendship.

The higher one's standards of the desired mate, the wider must be the range of acquaintance if the standards are to be met. With the educated young woman, and often the educated young man as well, in a large city, conditions are reversed. The higher the standards, the fewer the people of any kind,—good, bad, or indifferent,—who are met. No wonder celibacy ensues!

For profitable acquaintance, the best opportunities are offered by groups in which young people share some common interest. In every city there are almost countless organizations devoted to sport, religion, recreation, philosophy, art, music, literature, science,—everything under the sun. One who wants to make acquaintances should canvass systematically all such groups in whose objects he has, or could acquire, an interest. He (or she) can visit them one at a time, drop them at once if no "worth-while" young people are found; cultivate them further if they promise to be worth cultivating. Such groups are usually anxious to get new members who share their enthusiasms, and the newcomer who goes alone and endeavors to be appreciative will find a warm reception, whether it be from a club of amateur astronomers or a choral society, a group of hikers or an organization to promote more fluent conversation in French.

Taking two a week, a young person in a large city could visit a hundred such groups in a year. It would be surprising if at least one of them did not prove to be repaying!

At the same time, development of one's own personality is essential. Some girls can dramatize themselves so successfully as to be mysterious and interesting at first sight; others try to do so but merely make themselves ridiculous; others always look and act just as flat failures as they feel.

Here again the colleges are partly to blame: many of them make little effective attempt to socialize their student bodies or to develop the per-

sonality and emotional maturity of their students. It is possible for a girl to go through a coeducational college for four years and in all that time never have a "date." If she goes to a "mixer," she is allowed to be a wallflower and returns to her room more convinced than ever that she is a failure in life and that no one will ever care for her. An over-privileged few of both sexes may have more social life in college than is good for them; the majority probably have nothing like enough. Special-interest groups and extra-curricular activities should be used more widely and intelligently.

The girl alone in a large city may be one of these whose four college years have done her more harm than good, so far as the development of her personality is concerned. She would profit by systematic psychological counselling, if it were available;¹⁵ but much can also be done through some of the excellent books on the art of being popular, of making friends, and of achieving happiness, of which at least a dozen have been published during the last few years. She may be able to find an evening class in adult education, which will help to supply this need,—and these evening classes also owe some of their popularity, no doubt, merely to the fact that they give people a chance to make acquaintances. Some of the standard tests of temperament, personality, emotional qualities, and attitudes should be taken; though they do not pretend to micrometric accuracy, they help to give one a more objective knowledge of his own assets and liabilities. He can play his cards better if he knows what sort of a hand he holds.

Perhaps the young man has become just as self-centered as his sister; just as afraid of himself and of other people so that he can not bring himself to make acquaintances or to interest those who make his acquaintance. Inadequate personality is in one way a greater obstacle to successful mating for men than for women, because the man does not have to overcome some of the other obstacles that confront his sister, such as the age differential and the mating gradient. He has to face less competition from his own colleagues, and if he has a good character and personality he will be sought out and introduced around.

The shortage of bachelors to furnish husbands for the educated and unmarried women is partly offset by the widowers and divorcees who, if they remarry, usually prefer to wed a maiden rather than an older woman of their own status. Unfortunately the divorcees, who are the most plentiful, are to some extent biological inferiors and discards who do not offer good matrimonial prospects.¹⁶ Their rate of remarriage is hard to calculate, but it is probable that not more than half of them marry a second time.¹⁷ Those who do remarry probably represent the more desirable of the whole group,

¹⁵ Institute of Family Relations. Correspondence course in the technique of counselling. Los Angeles, 1935.

¹⁶ Paul Popenoe, "Divorce as a Biologist Views It," *Marriage Hygiene*, Feb. 1935, 247-253.

¹⁷ ———, "The Fertility of Divorces," *Jour. Heredity*, 27(4), April 1936, 166-168.

and their success in a second marriage is not very much less than that of the rest of the population in a first-and-only marriage.¹⁸ Divorcees should be examined critically, therefore, but not necessarily rejected, although widowers probably average somewhat higher in quality.

Hundreds of unpublished case histories collected by my students at the University of Southern California bear out the plain inferences to be drawn from the Census and vital statistics. They show that the failure of educated men to marry is most frequently due to physical or emotional disabilities of such a nature, that if they did marry, they would not be desirable husbands or fathers.

The failure of many educated women to marry, on the other hand, is more frequently due to circumstances such as age differences and the mating gradient, which are not to their discredit.

The problem of the educated woman who meets no marriageable men is a difficult one, because there is an actual shortage of such men for her; but she can do much to meet the difficulty by studying the psychology of sex, improving her own personality, getting out of a rut, and devoting at least as much time and thought to marriage as she does to a career.

¹⁸ ———, "Divorce and Remarriage from a Biological Point of View," *Social Forces*, 12(1), October 1933, 48-50.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF PROSTITUTION

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I

TO THE THEORETICAL even more than to the applied sociologist, prostitution sets a profound problem: Why is it that a practice so thoroughly disapproved, so widely outlawed in Western civilization, can yet flourish so universally? Social theorists, in depicting the power of collective representations and the mores as determinants of human conduct, have at times implied that institutions are maintained only by *favorable* attitudes and sentiments. But prostitution is a veritable institution, thriving even when its name is so low in public opinion as to be synonymous with "the social evil." How, then, can we explain its vitality?

A genuine explanation must transcend the facile generalizations both of those who believe that prostitution can be immediately abolished, and of those who think vaguely that human nature and the lessons of history guarantee its immortality. In what follows I have tried to give a sociological analysis—to describe the main features of the interrelational system binding prostitution to other institutions (particularly those involving sexual relations). Such an analysis, though brief and tentative, seems to carry us a long way toward explaining not only the heedless vitality of commercial promiscuity, but also the extreme disrepute in which it and its personnel are held.¹

II

Human sexuality, as Zuckerman and others have demonstrated, bears a striking resemblance to the sexual behavior of monkeys and apes.² This resemblance rests upon two orders of facts—the first physiological, the second sociological.

Due to her physical nature, the primate female, as distinct from her lower mammalian sisters, is always sexually responsive. She experiences a regular menstrual cycle but has no period of anoestrus (complete unresponsiveness to sexual stimuli), whereas among most mammals below the primates the female does have, instead of a menstrual cycle, a period of anoestrus alternating with a period of oestrus (heat). This difference has a

¹ Disapproval of purely commercial (i.e., non-religious, non-familial) prostitution is extraordinarily widespread. Though the distinction is seldom made, disapproval of the prostitute is one thing and disapproval of the institution another. In Mongolian China, for example, prostitution was viewed with no serious disfavor, but the prostitute was treated with contempt. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 6, p. 236.

² S. Zuckerman, *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes*, N. Y., Harcourt, Brace, 1932; G. V. Hamilton, "A Study of Sexual Tendencies in Monkeys and Baboons," *Jour. Anim. Behav.*, 4, 1914, 295-318; H. C. Bingham, "Sex Development in Apes," *Comp. Psych. Monographs*, 5, 1928, 1-161.

fundamental effect upon the nature of primate (including human) society. *It introduces sex as a permanent element in social life and insures constant association of the two sexes.*³

Moreover, the primates possess a more complex sensori-motor equipment than the lower mammals, and have a longer period of infancy. These possessions, plus their continuous sexuality, facilitate more extensive *conditioning* of the sexual response, with the result that among the primates sexual behavior is not simply automatic, but is associated with numerous stimuli that are themselves non-sexual. Whereas among lower mammals the sexual responses can scarcely be conditioned at all, *the primates may be said to prostitute their sex by introducing sexual stimuli into intrinsically non-sexual situations.*⁴ In other words, the sexual responses of apes and monkeys may have no connection with sexual appetite, being used, instead, as a means of obtaining material advantages.

What leads to this sexual conditioning? Here we turn from physical to social facts. Reproductive physiology and neural complexity permit the conditioning, but sociological forces alone compel it. Zuckerman points out that monkeys and apes live in a society characterized by a system of dominance.⁵ Every ape or monkey enjoys within his social group a precarious position determined by the interrelation of his own dominant characteristics with those of his fellows. The degree of his dominance determines how his bodily appetites will be satisfied—amount of food, number of females, and degree of safety he will enjoy. Primates, both male and female, adapt themselves to such a hostile social system partly through sexual reactions. Since they are always to some extent sexually excitable and the stimuli capable of releasing this sexuality enormously varied, it is easy for their sexual behavior to become adjusted to the rigors of a social life based upon dominance. (Hence all situations which evoke sexual prostitution are alike in so far as they allow an animal some advantage that it would otherwise be denied.) For example, if a weaker animal secures food and a stronger one comes to take it away from him, the weaker animal immediately presents himself sexually, no matter whether his sex be the same or different. If he thus diverts the dominant animal's attention, he can swallow his food.⁶ In such cases it is by means of his sex reactions that a monkey obtains advantages to which he is not entitled by his position in the scale of dominance.

These facts are mentioned for the purpose of bringing out the basic principle in prostitution—namely, the use of sexual stimulation in a sys-

³ Zuckerman, *op. cit.* especially chaps. iii, iv, vi, viii, ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152. Zuckerman repeatedly uses the term prostitution to describe this behavior, as do others.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 312-314. The generalized picture given in these few paragraphs of course does not apply in detail to all genera of infra-human primates, nor does it do full justice to Zuckerman's qualifications.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-242.

tem of dominance to attain non-sexual ends. They are not mentioned for the purpose of drawing an analogy between animal and human society or speculating as to the origin of human institutions. Zuckerman himself has adequately warned us against this error.⁷ Yet "the socio-sexual activities of sub-human primates are much further removed from those of the lower mammal than from those of man."⁸ Among both man and the apes the same physiological and sociological factors appear to be present, at least to the degree that among both can be found the fundamental trait of prostitution.

III

We cannot, however, define human prostitution simply as the use of sexual responses for an ulterior purpose. This would include a great portion of all social behavior, especially that of women. It would include marriage, for example, wherein women trade their sexual favors for an economic and social status supplied by men.⁹ It would include the employment of pretty girls in stores, cafes, charity drives, advertisements. It would include all the feminine arts that women use in pursuing ends that require men as intermediaries, arts that permeate daily life, and, while not generally involving actual intercourse, contain and utilize erotic stimulation.

But looking at the subject in this way reveals one thing. The basic element in what we actually call prostitution—the employment of sex for non-sexual ends within a competitive-authoritative system—characterizes not simply prostitution itself but all of our institutions in which sex is involved, notably courtship and wedlock. Prostitution therefore resembles, from one point of view, behavior found in our most respectable institutions. It is one end of a long sequence or gradation of essentially similar phenomena that stretches at the other end to such approved patterns as engagement and marriage. What, then, is the difference between prostitution and these other institutions involving sex?

The difference rests at bottom upon the functional relation between society and sexual institutions. It is through these institutions that erotic gratification is made dependent on, and subservient to, certain co-operative performances inherently necessary to societal continuity. The sexual institutions are distinguished by the fact that though they all provide gratification, they do not all tie it to the same social functions.¹⁰ This explains why they are differently evaluated in the eyes of the mores.

⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. ii. It is worth noting that while Westermarck and his followers have used the anecdotal literature on anthropoid life to bolster their theory of universal monogamy in human society, it is just as logical to argue from the scientific literature on the same subject that prostitution is equally rooted in primate nature and hence equally universal in human life.

⁸ Zuckerman, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

⁹ She also contributes other services, though these are sometimes difficult to see in our middle-class society.

¹⁰ Any institution appeals to *several* motives and performs *several* functions. Strictly speaking, therefore, there are no purely sexual institutions. Wedlock is not simply sexual, not simply

The institutional control of sex follows three correlative lines. First, it permits, encourages, or forces various degrees of sexual intimacy within specific customary relations, such as courtship, concubinage, and marriage. Second, to bolster this positive control, it discourages sexual intimacy in all other situations, e.g., when the persons are not potential mates or when they are already mated to other persons.¹¹ Finally, in what is really a peculiar category of the negative rules, it absolutely prohibits sexual relations in certain specified situations. This last form of control refers almost exclusively to incest taboos, which reinforce the first-named (positive) control by banishing the disruptive forces of sexual competition from the family group.

These lines of control are present no matter what the specific kind of institutional system. There may be monogamy, polygyny, or concubinage; wife exchange or religious prostitution; premarital chastity or unchastity. The important point is not the particular kind of concrete institution, but the fact that without the positive and negative norms there could be no institutions at all. Since social functions can be performed only through institutional patterns, the controls are indispensable to the continuance of a given social system.

Of the numerous functions which sexual institutions subserve, the most vital relate to the physical and social reproduction of the next generation. If we ask, then, which sexual institutions in a society receive the greatest support from law and mores, we must point to those which facilitate the task of procreating and socializing the young. It follows that sanctioned sexual relations are generally those within these (or auxiliary) institutions, while unsanctioned relations are those outside them.

Marriage and its subsidiary patterns constitute the chief cultural arrangement through which erotic expression is held to reproduction. It is accordingly the most respectable sexual institution, with the others diminishing in respectability as they stand further away from wedlock. Even the secondary forms of erotic behavior—flirtation, coquetry, petting, etc.—have their legitimate and their illegitimate settings. Their legitimate aspects may be subsumed under courtship, leading to marriage; but if indulged in for themselves, with no intention of matrimony, they are devoid of the primary function and tend to be disapproved. If practised by persons married to others, they are inimical to reproductive relations already established and are more seriously condemned. If practised by close relations within the primary family, they represent a threat to the very

procreative, not simply economic. It is all three. This linking of the sexual impulse to other things is not haphazard, but shows a high degree of structural and functional articulation, demonstrable on two different but interdependent levels: the life organization of persons, and the institutional organization of society. Sex, like other elements in human nature, is drawn into the integration, and is thus controlled.

¹¹ For the emotional attitudes maintaining these norms see K. Davis, "Jealousy and Sexual Property," *Social Forces*, 14, March 1936, 395-405.

structure of the reproductive institution itself, and are stringently tabooed. These attitudes are much more rigid with regard to actual intercourse, not solely because coitus is the essence of the sexual but because it has come to symbolize the *gemeinschaft* type of relation present in the family. With this in mind we can add that when coitus is practised for money its social function is indeterminate, secondary, and extrinsic. The buyer clearly has pleasure and not reproduction in mind. The seller may use the money for any purpose. Hence unless the money is earmarked for some legitimate end (such as the support of a family, a church, or a state), the sexual relation between the buyer and seller is illegitimate, ephemeral, and condemned. It is pure commercial prostitution.

Of course many sexual institutions besides courtship and marriage receive, in various cultures and to varying degrees, the sanction of society. These generally range themselves between marriage and commercial prostitution in the scale of social approval. They include concubinage, wife exchange, and forms of sanctified prostitution.¹² Religious prostitution, for example, not only differs from wedlock, but also from commercial prostitution; the money that passes is earmarked for the maintenance of the church, the woman is a religious ministrant, and the act of intercourse is sacred.¹³ Similar considerations apply to that type of prostitution in which the girl obtains a dowry for her subsequent marriage. Whenever the money earned by prostitution is spent for a sanctified purpose, prostitution is in higher esteem than when it is purely commercial. If, for instance, prostitution receives more approval in Japan than in America, it is significant that in the former country most of the *joro* enter the life because their family needs money; their conduct thereby subserves the most sacred of all Japanese sentiments—filial piety.¹⁴ The regulation of prostitution by governments and churches in such a way that at least some of the proceeds go towards their maintenance is control of sex behavior at a second remove. By earmarking a part of the money, the bought intercourse is made to serve a social function; but *this function is not intrinsically related to coitus in the same way as the procreative function of the family.*

✓ In commercial prostitution both parties use sex for an end not socially functional, the one for pleasure, the other for money. To tie intercourse to sheer physical pleasure is to divorce it both from reproduction and from

¹² Concubinage evidently stands part way between prostitution and marriage. It resembles marriage in that it is relatively permanent, partly reproductive, and implies a *gemeinschaft* bond; but it resembles prostitution in that the woman more definitely and exclusively exists for the sexual pleasure of the master, and her social position is inferior to that of the wife. E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 5th ed., N. Y., Allerton Book Co., 1922; D. Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1925, chap. vi; Pearl Buck's novel, *The Good Earth*. Wife exchange differs from marriage in that its social function appears to be, not propagation, but the cementing of solidarity within a group. W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, *Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist. Memoirs*, 7, 602-607.

¹³ G. May, "Prostitution," *Ency. of Soc. Sci.*; Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 219 et seq.

¹⁴ A. M. Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1902, pp. 175-178; D. C. McMurtrie, "Prostitution in Japan," *New York Med. Jour.*, Feb. 8, 1913.

the sentimental primary type of relation which it symbolizes. To tie it to money, the most impersonal and atomistic type of reward possible, with no stipulation as to the use of this medium, does the same thing. Pure prostitution is promiscuous, impersonal. The sexual response of the prostitute does not hinge upon the personality of the other party, but upon the reward. The response of the customer likewise does not depend upon the particular identity of the prostitute, but upon the bodily gratification. On both sides the relationship is merely a means to a private end, a contractual rather than a personal association.

These features sharply distinguish prostitution from the procreative sexual institutions. Within a group organized for bearing and rearing children bonds tend to arise that are cemented by the condition of relative permanence and the sentiment of personal feeling, for the task requires long, close, and sympathetic association. Prostitution, in which the seller takes any buyer at the price, necessarily represents an opposite kind of erotic association. It is distinguished by the elements of hire, promiscuity, and emotional indifference—all of which are incompatible with primary or *gemeinschaft* association.

The sexual appetite, like every other, is tied to socially necessary functions. The function it most logically and naturally relates to is procreation. The nature of procreation and socialization is such that their performance requires institutionalized primary-group living. Hence the family receives the highest estimation of all sexual institutions in society, the others receiving lower esteem as they are remoter from its *gemeinschaft* character and reproductive purpose. Commercial prostitution stands at the lowest extreme; it shares with other sexual institutions a basic feature, namely the employment of sex for an ulterior end in a system of differential advantages, but it differs from them in being mercenary, promiscuous, and emotionally indifferent. From *both* these facts, however, it derives its remarkable vitality.

IV

Since prostitution is a contractual relation in which services are traded (usually in terms of an exchange medium) and sex is placed in an economic context,¹⁵ it is strange that modern writers have made so much of the fact that the "social evil" has economic causes.¹⁶ One might as well say, with equal perspicacity, that retail merchandising has economic causes. Prostitution embraces an economic relation, and is naturally connected with the entire system of economic forces. But to jump from this truism to the conclusion that prostitution can be abolished by eliminating its economic causes is erroneous. Economic causes seldom act alone, and hence their removal is seldom a panacea.

¹⁵ Yet no economist has written a treatise on it in the same way that economists write treatises on banking and the coal industry. See L. Robbins, *An Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science* (rev. ed., 1935), 28.

¹⁶ *Encyclopaedia Sexualis*, article on "Prostitution," p. 667.

The causal ramifications of commercial coitus extend beyond the economic sphere. At least three separable but related problems must be recognized: (1) the causes of the existence of prostitution; (2) the causes of the *rate* or *amount* of prostitution; and (3) the causes of *any particular individual's entrance into, or patronage of*, prostitution. The existence of prostitution seems related both to the physiological nature of man and to the inherent character of society, both of which include more than the sheer economic element. These basic factors, constantly operative, account for the ubiquity of prostitution, but not for the variations in its rate. This second problem must be dealt with in terms of the specific institutional configuration existing at the time, in which economic factors are highly but not exclusively important. Finally, any particular person's connection with prostitution is a result of his or her own unique life-history, into which an infinite variety of strands, some economic and some not economic, are woven. The factors in (1) and (2) are operative in the individual's life, but are never sufficient in themselves to explain his or her behavior.

These issues are generally confused by those who believe that by removing alleged economic causes one can abolish prostitution. Let us follow their arguments further, considering first the removal of economic causes within the capitalist system, and second the removal of them in a non-capitalist system.

1. A frequent proposal for abolition under capitalism is that the salaries of working girls be raised. This proposal, which ignores the demand side, assumes that girls enter prostitution through economic necessity—a paradoxical assumption, for if it is true it indicates that prostitution must have other than economic causes and remedies, while if it is untrue this particular proposal is fallacious.

Why should a girl enter prostitution *only* through economic necessity? Is the occupation so arduous? On the contrary, we often speak as if harlots "would rather prostitute themselves than work."¹⁷ It is even true that some women enjoy the intercourse they sell. From a purely economic point of view prostitution comes perilously near the situation of getting something for nothing. The woman may suffer no loss at all, yet receive a generous reward, resembling the artist who, though paid for his work, loves it so well that he would paint anyway. Purely from the angle of economic return, the hard question is not why so many women become prostitutes, but why so few of them do. The harlot's return is not primarily a reward for abstinence, labor, or rent. It is primarily a reward for loss of social standing. She loses social esteem because our moral system condemns the commercialization of intercourse. If, then, she refuses to enter the profession until forced by sheer want, the basic cause of her hesitation is not economic but moral. Only when the moral condition is assumed, do wages

¹⁷ W. L. George's novel, *Bed of Roses*, vividly contrasts the hard life of the working girl with the easy life of the prostitute.

or economic want take on any importance. Prostitution, therefore, is not purely a matter of economic factors alone.

We have taken for granted that in the face of moral condemnation, only starvation wages can drive girls into prostitution. Actually this is only partly true. But even if it were, the proposal to eliminate prostitution by raising wages would not work. In a competitive system as soon as the salaries of working girls are increased, the supply of prostitutes diminishes. The resulting scarcity increases the effective demand, in the form of price, which rises as the supply diminishes. (The demand rests upon a constant imperative need, not always conveniently satisfiable by substitutes.) With the rise in price, working girls even with good salaries will be tempted into the profession. Moreover, it will be possible for more women to live on the proceeds of prostitution alone—without performing arduous labor in store or restaurant. The net result will be as much prostitution as before, and in terms of actual money invested and changing hands, there may be more.¹⁸ The facts seem to bear out these theoretical propositions, for apparently prostitution does not increase greatly with low wages for women nor decrease with high, although other factors, such as the correlation between men's wages and women's wages, must be considered in working out the relationship.¹⁹

Finally, this proposal does not touch the demand for prostitution. To touch demand requires more than economic changes; for even less than the woman who sells herself, is the man who buys guided by economic motives. His motivation, as we shall see later, springs from bio-social forces for which the economic are simply instrumental.

2. In her book, *Red Virtue*, Ella Winter has a chapter entitled "Ending Prostitution," at the head of which stands a quotation from a Soviet physician: "Soviet life does not permit of prostitution." Widely accepted and frequently repeated, this belief is taken for granted as one of the main values of a communist as against a capitalist system.

There can be little doubt, I think, that in Soviet cities prostitution has diminished in the last few years, but there can be grave doubt that it has been ended or that the diminution has resulted solely from the abolition of private property. Not only did prostitution exist before capitalism arose, but capitalist countries themselves have frequently tried to stop private ownership of prostitutes for purposes of profit. They have consistently

¹⁸ Another difficulty is that the wages of prostitution are already far above the wages of ordinary women's work. "No practicable rise in the rate of wages paid to women in ordinary industries can possibly compete with the wages which fairly attractive women of quite ordinary ability can earn by prostitution" (Ellis, *op.cit.*, p. 263). The discrepancy between the wages of ordinary work and the wages of prostitution results from the fact, as indicated above, that the latter is morally tabooed. This increases the wage differential until there is every economic incentive for entering.

¹⁹ The wages of one class cannot be arbitrarily raised without affecting those of all other earners. Under competition women's wages could scarcely be raised without also raising men's. Men would then have more to spend on prostitution. A. Deprés, *La prostitution en France* (1883), concluded that as wealth and prosperity increased, so did prostitution.

legislated against third parties—pimps, real estate owners, bookers—only to find that none of these measures succeed.²⁰ In short, capitalism, like communism, has tried in the case of prostitution to negate the basic capitalistic principle.

Doubtless it is harder to eliminate the business aspect of prostitution (organized syndicates operated by third parties) in a capitalist system where business prevails anyway, than it is in a communist system where all business is frowned upon. In the latter, profit-making organizations possess high visibility, are easily hunted down. But this does not mean that unorganized prostitution, in which seller, manager, and worker are all rolled into the same person, cannot thrive.

Payment for prostitution need not be in terms of money. It may be in terms of privilege, power, food, clothing, almost any form of exchangeable value. These exchangeable commodities (and some medium of exchange) must exist in any complex society, no matter what the system of political control, because the specialized producers must mutually exchange their surpluses. At the same time there is, in any society, a system of privilege, authority, and dominance. Some have rights, belongings, and talents that others lack. Soviet Russia may have abolished the capitalistic alignment of classes, but it has not abolished social class; the class principle is inherent in the nature of social organization.²¹ In the Soviet system, as in any other social structure, there lies the eternal possibility and the eternal incentive to trade sexual favor for non-sexual advantage. This becomes clearer after analyzing the demand side of prostitution.

V

When outlawed, prostitution falls into one peculiar category of crime—a type exceedingly hard to deal with—in which one of the willful parties is the ordinary law-abiding citizen. This kind of crime, of which bootlegging is the archetype, is supported by the money and behavior of a sizeable portion of the citizenry, because in it the citizen receives a service. Though the service is illegitimate, the citizen cannot be held guilty, for it is both impossible and inadvisable to punish half the populace for a crime. Each citizen participates in vital institutional relationships—family, business, church, and state. To disrupt all of these by throwing him in jail for a mere vice would be, on a large scale, to disrupt society.²² But the

²⁰ See M. L. Ernst's chapter in *The Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult*, ed. by Ira S. Wile, Vanguard Press, 1934, especially, pp. 230-231. Also, Flexner, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

²¹ By social class is meant the differential sharing of the values (educational, artistic, recreational, political as well as economic) of the community by different segments of the population. The Party in Russia forms one class, enjoying privileges and responsibilities not shared by the rest of the people. The same is true of the skilled as against the unskilled workers.

²² "The professional prostitute being a social outcast may be periodically punished without disturbing the usual course of society; no one misses her while she is serving out her turn—no one, at least, about whom society has any concern. The man, however, is something more than partner in an immoral act: he discharges important social and business relations . . . He cannot be imprisoned without deranging society." . . . Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

eagerness of otherwise decent citizens to receive the illicit service attests powerful forces behind the demand element.

On the one hand, the demand is the result of a simple biological appetite. When all other sources of gratification fail, due to defects of person or circumstance, prostitution can be relied upon to furnish relief. None of the exacting requirements of sex attraction and courtship are necessary. All that is needed is the cash, and this can be obtained in a thousand ways. Prostitution is the most malleable, the most uninvolved form of physical release.

But in addition to the sheer desire for sexual satisfaction, there is the desire for satisfaction in a particular (often an unsanctioned) way.

The common and ignorant assumption that prostitution exists to satisfy the gross sensuality of the young unmarried man, and that if he is taught to bridle gross sexual impulse or induced to marry early the prostitute must be idle, is altogether incorrect . . . The prostitute is something more than a channel to drain off superfluous sexual energy, and her attraction by no means ceases when men are married, for a large number of men who visit prostitutes, if not the majority, are married. And alike whether they are married or unmarried the motive is not one of uncomplicated lust.²³

The craving for variety, for perverse gratification, for mysterious and provocative surroundings, for intercourse free from entangling cares and civilized pretense, all play their part.

Prostitution, again by its very nature, is aptly suited to satisfy this second side of demand. The family, an institution of status rather than contract, limits the variety, amount, and nature of a person's satisfactions. But since with the prostitute the person is paying for the privilege, he is in a position to demand almost anything he wants. The sole limitation on his satisfactions is not morality or convention, but his ability to pay the price. This is an advantage which commercial recreation generally has over kinds handled by other institutional channels.

There is no reason to believe that a change in the economic system will eliminate either side of demand. In any system the effective demand as expressed by price will vary with current economic and moral forces, but the underlying desire both for sheer gratification and for gratification in particular ways will remain impregnable.

VI

We can imagine a social system in which the motive for prostitution would be completely absent, but we cannot imagine that the system could ever come to pass. It would be a regime of absolute sexual freedom, wherein intercourse were practised solely for the pleasure of it, by both parties. This would entail at least two conditions: *First*, there could be no institutional control of sexual expression. Marriage, with its concomitants of engagement, jealousy, divorce, and legitimacy, could not exist. Such an

²³ Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296. The author describes in detail the various motives involved.

institution builds upon and limits the sexual urge, making sex expression contingent upon non-sexual factors, and thereby paving the way for intercourse against one's physical inclination. *Second*, all sexual desire would have to be mutually complementary. One person could not be erotically attracted to a non-responsive person, because such a situation would inevitably involve frustration and give a motive for using force, fraud, authority, or money to induce the unwilling person to co-operate.

Neither of these conditions can in the nature of things come to pass. As we have seen, every society attempts to control, and for its own survival must control, the sexual impulse in the interest of social order, procreation, and socialization. Moreover, all men are not born handsome nor all women beautiful. Instead there is a perfect gradation from extremely attractive to extremely unattractive, with an unfavorable balance of the old and ugly. This being the case, the persons at the wrong end of the scale must, and inevitably will, use extraneous means to obtain gratification.²⁴

While neither the scale of attractiveness nor the institutionalization of sex are likely to disappear, it is possible that the *particular form of institutionalization* may change. The change may be in the direction of greater sex freedom. Such a change must inevitably affect prostitution, because the greater the proportion of free, mutually pleasurable intercourse, the lesser is the demand for prostitution. This, it seems, is the true explanation of the diminution of prostitution in Soviet Russia.²⁵

The conclusion that free intercourse for pleasure and friendship rather than for profit is the greatest enemy of prostitution emerges logically from our statement that a basic trait of prostitution is the use of sex for an ulterior purpose. Should one wish to abolish commercial coitus, one would have to eliminate this trait. This proposition however, is unacceptable to moralists, because, as we saw, the underlying trait of prostitution is also

²⁴ The question, why are women more frequently prostitutes than men (and why is male prostitution usually homosexual), leads to interesting conclusions. Men have authority and economic means in greater amount than women. They are, therefore, in a more favorable position to offer inducements, and this inequality characterizes not only prostitution but all relations in which sex is used for ulterior ends. But why the inequality? Women are perhaps physically weaker, and they are naturally connected more closely with procreation and socialization. The latter constitute their main functions. Hence women must depend upon sex for their social position much more than men do. A man who relies on sex for his status has at best an inferior station, while in many ways the very best that a woman can do is through use of her sexual charms.

Out of the female population there are relatively few who are young and pretty. These are in great demand by the *entire* male population, who use every inducement, sanctioned and otherwise. Most of the women are taken by the inducement of a definite social status—marriage. They are thereby withdrawn from competition. But the remainder are in a very favorable position so far as profiting by their attractiveness is concerned. They can, therefore, make much more if they enter an occupation in which their sexual appeal is the intrinsic quality desired. One such occupation is prostitution.

²⁵ Communist theory has generally condemned the private family. At the same time Russia emancipated women, making them less dependent upon their sexual qualities, more dependent upon their citizenship and productiveness. Both the incentive for them to settle in a permanent marital relation and the incentive to indulge in prostitution were therefore lessened.

a fundamental feature of reputable sexual institutions, and intercourse for sheer pleasure is as inimical to our sacred institutions as it is to the profane one of mercenary love. Though Lecky's suggestion that harlotry sustains the family is perhaps indefensible, it seems true that prostitution is not so great a danger to the family as complete liberty.

Where the family is strong, there tends to be a well-defined system of prostitution and the social regime is one of status. Women are either part of the family system, or they are definitely not a part of it. In the latter case they are prostitutes, members of a caste set apart. There are few intermediate groups, and there is little mobility. This enables the two opposite types of institutions to function side by side without confusion; they are each staffed by a different personnel, humanly as well as functionally distinct. But where familial controls are weak, the system of prostitution tends to be poorly defined. Not only is it more nearly permissible to satisfy one's desire outside the family, but also it is easier to find a respectable member of society willing to act as partner. This is why a decline of the family and a decline of prostitution are both associated with a rise of sex freedom. Women, released from close family supervision, are freer to seek gratification outside it. The more such women, the easier it is for men to find in intimate relations with them the satisfactions formerly supplied by harlots. This is why the unrestricted indulgence in sex for the fun of it by both sexes is the greatest enemy, not only of the family, but also of prostitution.

Not only in Soviet Russia has pleasurable sex freedom invaded and reduced prostitution, but also in America and England, where "amateur competition" is reputedly ruining the business of street-walkers and call girls.²⁶ This indicates that independently of communism or capitalism, due to factors more profound than mere economic organization, sex freedom can arise and, having arisen, can contribute to the decline of prostitution. Its rise seems correlated with the growth of individualization in an increasingly complex society where specialization, urbanism, and anonymity prevail—factors which are also inimical to reproductive institutions of the familial type.

But even if present trends continue, there is no likelihood that sex freedom will ever displace prostitution. Not only will there always be a set of reproductive institutions which place a check upon sexual liberty, a system of social dominance which gives a motive for selling sexual favors, and a scale of attractiveness which creates the need for buying these favors, but prostitution is, in the last analysis, economical. Enabling a small number of women to take care of the needs of a large number of men, it is the most convenient sexual outlet for an army, and for the legions of strangers, perverts, and physically repulsive in our midst. It performs a function, apparently, which no other institution fully performs.

²⁶ G. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 168. "Prostitution," *Encyclopaedia Sexualis*, p. 665. J. K. Folsom, *The Family*, N. Y., Wiley, 1934, chap. xiii.

THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES ON THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

HELEN LELAND WITMER

IT IS THE purpose of this paper to summarize some data with respect to the influence of parent-child relationships on the individual's later social adjustment and to review very briefly the Freudian explanation of this phenomenon. It thus lies in the area where sociology and psychiatry meet. Sociology views the family as the prime instrument for the transmission of culture from one generation to the next and considers the individual socially well adjusted who follows the prescribed and implied modes of behavior with due regard to their contradictory character. It deals with the external, institutionalized aspects of the educational process and with its variation in form from group to group. Social psychiatry, especially as it derives from Freudian theory, offers a hypothesis to account for the transformation of the human animal into the socialized human being. It, too, is concerned with the interaction between persons, but its emphasis is upon the dynamics of the process within the individual by means of which he modifies his instincts in the interest of his own development and society's good. In other words, social psychiatry attempts to show how the demands of society become internalized and social control becomes possible. Both sociology and psychiatry recognize that the mechanisms they describe frequently fail to lead to socially satisfactory results, and it is here that a union of the two disciplines seems particularly necessary. Dr. Karen Horney¹ has given some indication as to how the analyst utilizes the data of sociology. This paper must be less ambitious but it may indicate, in a narrower field, how the sociologist may find helpful some of the concepts of psychoanalysis.

The essence of the Freudian theory is that the child's instinctual drives of love and hate (sex and aggression, life and death) provide the motive force for the building of his personality, and that the parents' behavior and attitudes toward him are the primary elements in the environment within which his basic adjustments are worked out. The parents provide many of the important stimuli to the child's development—the frustrations, as well as the affection, which make his progress possible. In maintaining, within his psyche, the shifting equilibrium between the forces of love and hate the attitudes of the parents are all-important to the child, for the extent to which they can provide the proper balance of love and discipline largely determines his ability to progress from one level of adjustment to the next. The process is one in which emotional factors far out-

¹ Karen Horney, "Culture and Neurosis," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1, Apr. 1936, 221-230.

weigh intellectual ones. The parent gains little by taking thought about his behavior toward the child, and the child is enabled to use his intellect at all only by reason of his previous emotional development and the resolution of some of his earliest fears.

The steps in the process have been worked out quite specifically by Freudian theorists, although there is not complete agreement among them as to details. To follow their reasoning one must, of course, grant the validity of their basic assumptions: that human beings are endowed with the two basic types of instincts, and that much of the psychological process is irrational and unconscious. Their account of the normal development of the psyche, as I understand it, is very briefly this. The love instinct is called into play by the act of nursing but the death instinct soon follows because the mother's breast is not ever-present. This painful discovery that he and his mother's breast are two separate objects marks the first step in the development of the ego (the portion of the personality that is in contact with reality), and it provides the stimulus to superego development as well. For the child does not meekly submit to this first, inevitable frustration but projects his death instinct on to the mother and reacts to this phantasy by aggression. Then, in an attempt to deal with the anxiety that is aroused by his anger and by his terror that his mother will punish him for it, he incorporates into himself an image of her whom he so irrationally fears. By submitting to these phantasy objects he gains temporary peace and, in the upsurge of the love instincts, is enabled to observe more accurately the behavior of the real parents toward him.

The essential elements of later development are all present in this early traumatic situation, although other mechanisms come into play as the growing ego is progressively more able to distinguish reality from phantasy. Aggressive impulses force contact with the outside world. Further ego development permits the introjection of some of the pleasant aspects of that world and the projection of unpleasant feelings. Through the mechanism of displacement feelings directed against or attributed to the parent can be assigned to other persons and objects. From this dispersal of feelings various benefits flow. The superego becomes less harsh as the parental images become less terrifying, due to the child's reserving for the parents much of his libidinal desires. Relationships with persons other than parents are fostered, and an increasing sense of reality is achieved.

The whole trend of development of the psyche is toward effecting a convergence of external and intrapsychic reality. Phantasy characterizes the activity of the superego. Originally based on an introjection of aggressive impulses against the parents, the superego, by means of displacement of hostile feelings, comes to reflect libidinal impulses as well. The ego, relieved of some of the pressure of aggressive impulses, observes reality more clearly. If it discovers that reality, largely in the form of the parents, is kind but sufficiently firm to protect the psyche from the ravages of too

extreme anxiety, emotional growth is fostered, and the superego is slowly enabled to discard its phantasies and to substitute for them the real demands of the external universe.²

It is clear that the attitude of the parents toward the child is a matter of prime importance. If they are over-loving—that is, give in to the child's least desire and save him from all frustrating experiences—ego growth is thwarted and, with it, the child's ability to form relationships with other persons and things. For this, it has been indicated, develops largely through his attempts to counteract his fears. Lacking this necessity, he would presumably remain in the stage of development in which he and his source of nourishment were an undifferentiated universe were it not that the death impulse, also instinctive and energy-bearing, would be denied an outlet and so increase in strength. On the other hand, there are probably even greater dangers if the parents do not give adequate affection to the child. In such a situation reality reinforces the phantasies of hostile, avenging parent images that the child's aggression evokes. If reality does not supply kindly, loving representations to replace these terrifying ones, the child may be driven either to deny reality altogether or to substitute for the real objects of its terror others not so ever-present and to fear these new objects to an excessive degree. The mildest end results would be character traits and relationships with people too greatly influenced by sadism and ambivalence.

(This, of course, is an inadequate account of a very complicated theory. Stated most generally, however, it seems to come to this: that, not only for the sake of society but for the development of his own potentialities, the child's native impulses of sex and aggression must be largely diverted from direct expression. Under the influence of firm but loving parents the child is enabled to develop that portion of the psyche that comprehends the world in which he lives and to incorporate into himself some of that world's injunctions. The parents' function is to provide the environment of love and discipline in which the rival forces within the child will work out their ever-shifting equilibrium. The parents cannot make the child, but they enable him to make or break himself.

This, then, is the hypothesis which Freudian psychology offers as to the influence of parents' attitudes on the social adjustment of their children. The degree of love or of hate (or an intermingling of the two) on the part of the parent is viewed as the prime determinant of the quality of the

² This explanation of the superego's development is the writer's conjecture, based on an argument that seems implicit in some of the Freudian literature but which has not been found explicitly stated anywhere. The English school of analysts, notably Melanie Klein, view the superego as originating very early, in the introjected projections of the death wish. The more orthodox Freudian position is that the super-ego represents chiefly the identification with the parent of the same sex and develops after the child realizes the futility of the Oedipus struggle. A union of these two points of view seems possible, if it is correct to assume that the early, phantasy images are discarded in the normal course of development, if the child finds through experience that reality does not substantiate his belief in them.

social relationships and the self-control that the child will later be able to achieve. The parent's ability to give his children adequate affection and discipline is also theoretically dependent largely upon his own early experiences. Little is said in the literature about the means of breaking this cycle, except through psychotherapy, but this may be because psychoanalysis has been so largely concerned with neurotic individuals. However that may be, the hypothesis does open up a field of interest to sociologists, in that it may serve to explain some of the deviations from the usual course of culture transmission and to indicate the role of emotional factors in a process that is so frequently described by sociologists in rational terms.

Psychoanalysts offer as proof of this theory their own studies of individual life histories and their observations of the behavior of young children. Convincing as these may be to research workers trained in psychoanalytic methods, they do leave something to be desired from the viewpoint of more academic research. The studies of adults are almost of necessity confined to maladjusted individuals, since others probably would not, perhaps could not, develop the relationship with the analyst that makes the investigation possible. On the other hand, the observations of children's behavior and the interpretation of the meaning of their actions seem at times to be too greatly influenced by the very theory they seek to prove. From a research point of view it would seem to be necessary to find some means of stepping outside the circle of theory and supporting observations in order more convincingly to subject the hypothesis to the test of crude facts. Admittedly, this is very difficult to do. The findings of an observer not trained in the use of the "microscope of psychoanalysis," or accustomed to looking beneath overt behavior for indications of motives, conscious or unconscious, are apt to be as invalid as those of untrained observers in other, more "scientific" fields. On the other hand, a crude test of part of the theory may be made by relatively well-trained investigators, if the question is confined to the correlation between the occurrence of certain circumstances and certain, behavioristically-defined traits.

This method was used in the investigations whose most general findings I wish to report. The investigations were made by a group of students of the Smith College School for Social Work during the course of their training in psychiatric clinics, under the guidance of staff psychiatrists, psychologists, or case workers. The specific subjects of their study varied considerably, but all collected data in regard to the relationship between parents' attitudes and children's behavior. Both of these variables were defined, and sub-classifications of each were set up. Overt behavior rather than psychological motivations were made the chief basis for distinguishing between categories. After the data descriptive of each case had been gathered, the cases were classified with respect to each of the traits (parent-child relationships and social adjustment), and the relationship between the traits was indicated by statistical tables. Such a method, while lacking

the detail of clinical reports, seemed a feasible one for ascertaining general trends. To the clinicians must be left the subtler task of showing the reasons for variations in the reactions of different individuals to broadly similar situations. For sociologists it may be sufficient to establish that the two traits are correlated.

Some indication of the social adjustment of most of the individuals studied was given by the fact that they were patients in the clinics or hospitals from which the case records were secured. Their symptoms varied from delinquency, other behavior difficulties and personality problems characteristic of child guidance patients, to frank neurosis and psychosis. A smaller series of cases was composed of individuals who were described by parents, teachers, clinic workers, and other observers as unusually well adjusted, in the sense that they were friendly, co-operative members of society, with interests and achievements in keeping with their age and mental and physical ability.

As to the parents' attitudes toward their children, considerable attention was paid to describing their behavioristic manifestations. The work of Dr. David Levy³ formed the basis of our attempts, and some refinements of his classifications were set up.⁴ There is not time here to give these in detail, but they can be most generally described as deviations from the norm of kindness and firm, consistent discipline which the Freudian theory seems to view as desirable. Broadly, unsatisfactory parental attitudes are of two types: those which express lack of affection for the child, and those that are marked by excess of attention to his desires or excess of control over his activities. Parents of the first type, emotionally, if not physically, thrust the child out of the home; parents of the second type try, by either domination or submission, to prevent his leaving. In clinical practice many parents with both of these kinds of attitudes are found. Sometimes one attitude conceals the other; sometimes the parent swings in his behavior from one type of manifestation to the other. Whichever is basic or whichever predominates, the effect upon the children appears to clinicians to be adverse, and our review of the Freudian theory has suggested a reason why it is so.

The students' findings with respect to the relation between parental attitudes and children's adjustment are difficult to summarize satisfactorily in so short a paper, since so much of method, definition, and selection of cases must be omitted. It must be noted, at least, that the presence or absence of unfavorable parental attitudes was never the basis for choosing a case for study, and that the classification of the cases with respect to attitudes was made independently by the various students.

The first generalization to be drawn from the investigations relates to

³ David Levy, "Maternal Over-Protection and Rejection," *Jour. of Nerv. and Ment. Diseases*, 73, 65-77.

⁴ Helen Witmer, "Parental Behavior as an Index to the Probable Outcome of Treatment in a Child Guidance Clinic," *Amer. Jour. of Orthopsychiatry*, 3, 1934, 431-442.

the incidence of adverse parental attitudes in twenty-five series of cases, containing well over a thousand individuals. The size and composition of the individual series varied greatly. The largest contained the 226 patients given "full study" by the Institute for Child Guidance, New York, seen between 1927 and 1930; the next largest was composed of 171 cases, all the patients of the Treatment Division of the Judge Baker Guidance Center, Boston, in 1931 and 1932. The others were much smaller, containing for the most part from 25 to 50 cases each, and were restricted to particular types of patients—delinquents, neurotics, truants, children said to manifest a schizoid tendency, and psychotic adults (manic depressives and schizophrenics) whose childhood histories were retrospectively studied.⁵ Regardless of type of case the findings were strikingly similar: one or both parents of from eighty to ninety-three percent of these individuals had attitudes toward the children that the clinic staffs considered definitely adverse.

For comparison with these figures there is a series of fifty cases, composed of children who were described as being unusually well-adjusted. Some of them were non-problem siblings of delinquents or problem children and, as such, were well known to the case workers who described them. It is of importance to note here that such children were very hard to find. For instance, only five of a series of sixty non-delinquent siblings of delinquents studied by the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University met our criteria of good adjustment. Other well-adjusted children were found among those coming to the Judge Baker Guidance Center for vocational advice and among the children in the fifth grade of a progressive school in the Newark public school system, in an investigation made by a student. In contrast to the findings for the maladjusted children, it was discovered that only about one-fourth of these well-adjusted children had a parent whose attitude was judged unsatisfactory.

A case by case comparison of paired children yielded descriptive data that supported the same trend. In the Yale study referred to above four of the five delinquents had been excessively catered to as little children and then, at about three years of age, pushed aside. The fifth one had always been rejected by his parents. In contrast, four of the five well-adjusted siblings of these children had always been accepted and approved of by their families but not dominated or spoiled. The fifth, too, was treated in this way until her adolescent desires brought disapproval from her mother.

⁵ Some of these groups are described in more detail in the following articles in *Smith College Studies in Social Work*: Helen Witmer and Students, "The Outcome of Treatment in a Child Guidance Clinic," 3, June 1933, 339-399; Frances Miller and Laura Richards, "Parental Behavior as an Index to the Probable Outcome of Treatment in a Child Guidance Clinic: A Second Investigation," 4, Dec. 1933, 139-151; Sylvia Stanton, "A Follow-up Study of Twenty-five Truants," Vol. 5, Mar. 1935, 276-296; Helen Witmer and Students, "The Later Social Adjustment of Problem Children: a Report of Thirteen Follow-up Investigations," 6, Sept. 1935, 1-98; Eva Bronner and Effie Irgens, "Parents' Attitudes toward Their Problem Children," 7, Sept. 1936, 1-46.

In the study of the Newark fifth grade the children were divided into five groups on the basis of social adjustment. The proportion whose parents' attitudes were other than understanding and helpful was progressively greater as the children's adjustment was worse. A study of all the children who lived on a street in a rather poor area in Providence, Rhode Island, yielded similar results.⁶ In nine families the children were socially well adjusted; in ten, most of them were shy and retiring; in eight, they showed varying degrees of aggressive behavior. All of the children in the first group were secure in the affection of their parents or other relatives. Each family appeared to be close-knit, co-operative, affectionate. In contrast, most of the children who were shy and retiring had mothers who, by one means or another, were in complete control of the household. Some of them achieved dominance by neurosis or psychosis, others by native ability or by providing the family with economic support. For the most part, they over-protected their children, either through excessive solicitude or by undue control of their activities. The fathers were either easy-going, quiet, submissive men or no longer lived at home. On the other hand, the children who were unsupervised and neglected through the mother's laxness or were subjected to the father's violent temper escaped the tense, quarrelsome atmosphere of their homes and became the mischief-makers of the neighborhood.

Further evidence of the influence of parents' attitudes on their children's social adjustment was given by a series of investigations concerned with the factors determining success and failure in child-guidance work.⁷ Well over a thousand cases from numerous clinics were studied, and it was clearly shown that such variables as age, sex, intelligence, economic status, nationality, size of family, and the like bore little, if any, relation to treatment results. In contrast, a close connection between the degree of maladjustment in parent-child relationships and the outcome of treatment was found. Extreme, overt rejection by the parents and over-protection that signified that the parents were using the child as an emotional substitute for more legitimate sources of satisfaction were found to be attitudes that were particularly crippling to the children and that left both child and parent particularly unamenable to treatment. Another investigation studied this latter point in greater detail and showed, in a hundred cases from the Treatment Division of the Judge Baker Guidance Center, that treatment of children was rarely successful unless some improvement in the attitudes of the parents toward them could be effected.⁸

⁶ Virginia Boggess, "Some Factors Accounting for the Variation in the Social Adjustment of Children Living in a Tenement Area," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 6, June 1936, 324-360.

⁷ See Articles in *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 3, June 1933, 339-399 and 6, Sept. 1935, 1-98, cited in footnote 5. Also, Helen Witmer, "A Comparison of Treatment Results in Various Types of Child Guidance Clinics," *Amer. Jour. of Orthopsychiatry*, 5, Jan. 1936, 351-360.

⁸ Effie Irgens, "Must Parents' Attitudes Become Modified in order to Bring About Ad-

Another approach to the subject of the influence of parents' attitudes on their children's adjustment was made in several studies that traced the effect of childhood experiences on later marital adjustment. The most recent investigation of that type⁹ was based on interviews with eight unusually well-adjusted families, selected from among many clients and foster parents known to social agencies in Milwaukee. Its particular importance, in addition to reinforcing the previous findings of the relation between happiness in marriage and happiness in childhood, lay in its suggestion as to how the cycle of adverse parental attitudes and problem children is broken. All of the women in this investigation had been outstandingly happy as children. Each described her home as having been pleasant and peaceful. The parents loved each other and treated their children with impartiality; the children were devoted to each other, had few quarrels, were interested in each other's activities. Only three of the eight husbands reported similar experiences. Three had been miserable because the home atmosphere was so unpleasant, and two had been over-pampered or over-disciplined. Careful study of the cases seemed to indicate that these latter, once maladjusted men had achieved happiness and an ability to deal understandingly with their children because they had found quite specifically in their wives compensation for their early frustrations and security against further assaults.

These, very briefly, then, are the findings of the students' investigations: that problem children, delinquents, pre-psychotics, manic-depressives and schizophrenics are much more apt to have been subjected to adverse parental attitudes than individuals who are socially well adjusted; that the degree of maladjustment in parent-child relationships is the chief factor (among those studied) determining the results of social-psychiatric treatment; that the cycle of maladjusted individuals producing maladjusted children is sometimes broken by a marriage that shields the maladjusted one from the consequences of his early disappointments. In that these findings point to the same relationship between parents' attitudes and children's behavior as that which is described in Freudian theory, they may be taken as confirmation by other research methods of that theory's chief conclusion. It is not as proof, however, that the findings seem of main importance. Their value to sociology lies rather, it seems to me, in the emphasis they place on factors that have been somewhat neglected in our studies of the social process, and in their implication that there is an area between sociology and psychiatry that needs the joint attention of these two groups of scientists.

justment in Their Problem Children?," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 7, Sept. 1936, 17-46.

⁹ Mabel Rasey and Helen Witmer, "Case Studies of Eight Well-Adjusted Families, with Special Reference to the Childhood of the Parents," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 7, Sept. 1936, 64-91.

SERVICING THE FAMILY THROUGH COUNSELLING AGENCIES

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THIS article will concern itself with the adequacy of available marriage and family consultation services and make certain proposals for their extension and improvement. The development and function of counselling in this field have been sufficiently described by Bridgman,¹ Fisher² and others.³

As Dr. Fisher in the foregoing pages has shown, available services are still inadequate. A study of various agencies which handle some phase of family experience gives testimony to the fact that a more specific and broader educational counselling program is desirable. The *Journal of Social Hygiene* in January 1936 published a list of thirty-two family consultation centers operating at that time. Ten more services known to the writer were added to this list and all were circularized in May 1937, in an effort to obtain up-to-date information about their work. Twenty-one replies were received from agencies which might be classified under the following headings: (1) birth control and maternal health centers; (2) social hygiene centers; (3) church centers; (4) social work centers; (5) educational service and research centers; and (6) private consultation centers.

The aims of all these centers are similar in that they attempt to disseminate information designed to further adjustments in marriage and other family relationships. Some confine their efforts to a specific field, such as contraceptive advice, while others, especially the educational or private marriage consultation centers, undertake to handle a wide range of problems. The evidence seems to indicate several recognizable trends: first, an increasing consciousness in the public mind of the need of more and more adequate educational and advisory services in the field of marriage-family organization and relationships; second, doctors, lawyers, ministers, and others are being increasingly asked by young and old alike for advice and counsel on questions about marriage and family situations; and third, in response to public demand, there have arisen throughout the country large numbers of centers, the main purpose of which is stated as offering either specialized or general advisory service of a professional nature about marital and family problems.

¹ Ralph P. Bridgman, "Guidance for Marriage and Family Life," *Annals Amer. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, 160, March 1932, 144-164.

² Mary S. Fisher, "The Development of Marriage and Family Counselling in the United States," *Parent Educ.*, 3, April 1 and May 15, 3-9.

³ For a fairly up-to-date and complete bibliography on Marriage and Family Counselling, see *ibid.*, p. 35.

But how adequate is the available service? Does it reach the great mass of the population which stands in need? Are counselors properly equipped? How may counselling on marriage and family problems be made more widely available and more specifically helpful to those who seek it?

The Birth Control and Maternal Health Centers are organized primarily for a specific purpose. Nearly all report some request for premarital and marital advice, but state that they do not have a staff equipped to give it. Their printed materials often imply a broader service than they are in a position to provide. In some instances, clients are referred to family welfare agencies, to private practitioners in the medical field, or to specialized marriage counselling services.

The Social Hygiene Centers throughout the country have been active in organizing their program around the term "marriage and premarital counselling service." However, their replies indicate that they still deal largely with questions of sex education and problems of sexual adjustment. Their stress upon educational and counselling methods would perhaps differentiate them from the centers previously discussed.

Many churches, known to have organized specific family advisory services, have discontinued this part of their program, due to economic conditions and changing pastors, except as the pastor himself may serve as an adviser to his parishioners on a wide range of personal and family problems—a function he has always performed.

Family Welfare Agencies in several cities have organized Family Consultation Bureaus, staffed by special case workers and co-operating psychiatrists. Usually these services are available to low-income groups only.

The Educational and Research Centers and the Private Marriage and Family Consultation Centers are the two newest groups in the field.

Hence, it may be said that agencies are few in number and that many are limited either in the type of service that they offer or in the groups which they serve. A study preliminary to the establishment of a marriage study association in Boston substantiates this conclusion. It indicates that the services of the hospitals and the Family Welfare Society in that city are devoted largely to charity patients, and that, in all agencies but one, the work of counselling is not separated from other activities and is, therefore, unknown to the public. For obvious reasons, institutions maintained primarily for other purposes are not readily called upon by those seeking marriage counsel. There is a lack of available service for people of moderate means. Such persons, as a rule, do not reach the psychiatrist unless they are burdened with a definite problem of mental disease; and since they do not wish to, and in most cases can not, qualify for charity services, they find it difficult to obtain the kind of consultation service desired.

But do the members of other professions take up the slack? Does marriage and family counsel offered in the regular course of the work of physicians and clergymen, for example, suffice to meet the need?

While the physician has always been the one to whom individuals have gone for help on physical aspects of marriage, in too many instances his advice has been given without conscious regard for the total personality adjustment of the individual in his unique situation. The physician's training has not prepared him to take account of the personality factors involved in marital adjustment. This fact is being recognized by the more progressive medical training centers, and it is significant that the Academy of Pediatrics is encouraging men entering the field to secure training in relation to family problems in a recognized child development center. Ministers, likewise, are called upon to deal with a wide range of questions confronting family members, and likewise progressive theological seminaries are providing more and improved opportunities for young clergymen to obtain theoretical and clinical training in fields of psychology, sociology, social work and psychiatry, in recognition of the fact that most ministers are not now adequately equipped for this function, which they are inevitably called upon to perform.

In view of the realities of the situation—the fact that the members of the legal, medical and clerical professions will of necessity continue to carry a large share of the load of marriage and family counselling—the trend toward the provision of more adequate supplementary training for the physician, lawyer, minister and others is highly desirable. To date, graduate professional schools have confined the thinking of their students to social, biological or physical phenomena considered in isolation, but the educational process of counselling does not permit of such unrealistic specialization. With slowly increasing provision for professional students in training to gain a broader and better integrated view of the phenomena of family living, these groups should be better equipped in the future, in larger numbers than heretofore.

But even when these professional groups are better equipped to give the counsel on marriage and family problems demanded of them by their clients, patients and parishioners, the whole of the need will not have been met. The service will still be inadequate both in scope and in quality. All the psychiatrists in the country, for example, are not now able to care adequately for the mentally diseased; and only a few individuals in the professions will want to devote their full time in the marriage-family counselling field. Hence, justification for extension of services in this area is not far to seek. But perhaps even more important than the extension of services are certain considerations in regard to their improvement. It is here proposed that marriage and family counselling consonant with the demand will require both clinics staffed by experts in a number of fields and specialists whose training has been carefully devised to prepare them for educational counselling in this area.

It is perhaps unnecessary to outline in detail the range of topics or questions relating to marriage and family situations which the counsellor is

likely to meet. Several sources of data are available.⁴ Suffice it to say that counselling on problems of marriage and the family requires an acquaintance with some aspects of many fields of knowledge, not only in terms of technical information but also as a source of insight into human personality and relationships and the significance of cultural factors in the lives of individuals. In view of the number of special fields which contribute data essential to intelligent and satisfactory family living, it would be strange

⁴ William Healy and Others, *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth*, Alfred Knopf, 1929 (Judge Baker Foundation Publication No. 5).

Stuart A. Queen and D. M. Mann, *Social Pathology*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1925.

Elinor Hixenbaugh, "Reconciliation of Marital Maladjustment: An Analysis of 101 Cases," *Social Forces*, 10, December 1931, 230.

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Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, "Re-examination of the Work of Children's Courts," *Year Book of the National Probation Association*, National Probation Association, 1930.

Robert L. Dickinson and Lura Beam, *A Thousand Marriages*, The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1931.

R. C. and Elizabeth A. Dexter, *The Minister and Family Troubles*, R. K. Smith, 1931.

Margaret C. Banning, "What the Young Girl Should Know," *Harper's Magazine*, 168, December 1933, 50.

Newell D. Edson, "Family Adjustments Through Consultation Service," *Jour. Soc. Hyg.*, 18, April 1932, 198.

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Marie Kopp, "The Development of Marriage Consultation Centers as a New Field of Social Medicine," *Amer. Jour. Obstet. and Gynecol.* 26, July 1933, 122.

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Emily B. H. Mudd, "Some Aspects of Counselling in a Marriage and Family Consultation Service," *The Family*, 16, February 1935, 301.

Emily B. H. Mudd, "A Study of the Problems of One Hundred Consecutive Clients in the Philadelphia Marriage Council," *Mental Hygiene*, April 1937.

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Paul Popenoe, "How Can Colleges Prepare Their Students for Marriage and Parenthood?" *Jour. Home Econ.*, 28, March 1930, 169.

Agnes Snyder, "Family Relationships in the College Curriculum," *Jour. Home Econ.*, 28, January 1936, 9.

Mildred Thurow Tate, "What the Teacher Can Accomplish in Education for Family Life," *Jour. Home Econ.*, 28, Feb. 1936, 73.

Meyer F. Nimkoff, "Counselling Students on Premarital Problems: A Function of the Sociologist," *Mental Hygiene*, 19, October 1935, 573.

Dwight Sanderson, "Family Life Research," *Social Work Yearbook*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1933.

indeed were one individual in command of all the information necessary to counselling on the whole spectrum of family problems. This is especially true in the case of the person who has devoted the whole of his professional life to the study of some one specialty.

Dr. Brunner,⁵ after discussing the points at which the obstetrician may be of aid in the field of marital adjustments, makes the following statement in relation to the values of a group of various specialists: "The study of the marital situation is more time-consuming and requires more encyclopedic knowledge than any other type of diagnosis, and recommendations bear more weight and consequence in this situation than in any other in which a physician is called upon for advice. Yet this service is largely performed by a lone physician. Certainly a clinic, manned by paid (rather than volunteer) physicians and other experts with plenty of time to spend with a patient could provide more adequate service. Here a couple or situation could be studied by various specialists, by the gynecologist, the urologist, the sociologist and mental hygienist.

"Should a clinic be a part of a university in a large urban center, experts in the departments of economics, anthropology, eugenics, divinity and law could be used as consultants and advisers in both clinical and research problems. Such a marital clinic, successfully operated, would become a model for similar undertakings which would serve not only as public health agencies but also as graduate schools for workers in the field of premarital and marital guidance and possibly as centers for invaluable research."

It should be pointed out that centers of this type need not necessarily be established under the aegis of the medical profession alone. The amount of group practice which involves medical, psychological, social, home economics and other specialists may well increase. It not only serves the varied needs of individuals coming for help, but has the advantage of attracting a clientele which may perhaps be more typical of the population than is that of the specialized problem clinic.

In conjunction with such centers as these, there is a real place for a person specially trained for work in marriage and family counselling, no matter what his original background. Some person with this special training should likewise find a place on the staff of every educational and other institution offering marriage and family consultation services. This training should equip the consultant to help the client in his attempt to find the answer to his unique query, and to make an adjustment. Acquaintance with the fields of sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, family economics and relationships, child growth and development and guidance procedures, will be essential in varying degrees, as will familiarity with some areas in medicine, law, social work and other fields. He is not to be a psychoanalyst

⁵ Endre K. Brunner, "Marriage Counselling by Members of the Medical Profession," *Parent Educ.*, 3, April 1 and May 15, 30.

necessarily, although he may with profit have been analyzed himself. He is not to be a psychiatrist, since he will not treat disease, although he should have training both in theoretical and clinical psychiatry.

Provision should be made for gaining experience in case writing, interviewing, analysis and counselling techniques. The consultant should know something of the validity of research in the family field and recognize that from research must come the basic data for his practice.

Any effort to differentiate between what is educational and what is therapeutic is especially confusing at the borderline of these fields. There is little question but that nursery schools, elementary and secondary schools, colleges, and adult and parent education classes are primarily designed to be educational and preventive in their purpose rather than curative, although even in these areas—particularly parent education—problems of dealing with behavior of children and adjustment within the family are always in evidence. In conjunction with the various formal education agencies there exist a number of educational advisory services and agencies designed primarily to work in the preventive field as far as personal and social maladjustments are concerned. The more informal types of effort designed in part to be of service to families may be found in conjunction with the radio and the press. All of these efforts are considered more or less educational.

When one looks into the therapeutic field, social case work, medical practice, including psychiatry and psychoanalysis, legal aid, centering about juvenile delinquency and domestic relations, and those centers called child-guidance clinics and adult clinics of a less specific type, all fall rather definitely within the field of treatment of pathology, and yet within these various groups there is an overlapping into the field of educational effort to some extent. Thus the problem of attempting to differentiate between education and therapy seems to be in actual practice, as far as consultation service effort is concerned, rather a theoretical question. The very fact that education is encroaching upon the fields of the healing arts may give rise to a number of conflicts in the minds of those who are engaged in these various fields. It may give rise to insecurity that comes from the potential threat of loss of vocational function due to the increasing effectiveness of education and scientific research and also insecurity which arises from the widespread acquiring of training and skill by an increasingly large number of educators and educational counsellors whose competence may approach that already held by those in certain of the so-called therapeutic areas. I think it can safely be assumed that about 70 percent of the population fall within this area of need for educational service. Not over 15 to 20 percent of the population in any given class are involved in delinquency, divorce, or serious personality disturbances at any one time, at least not serious enough to warrant institutionalization and specialized medical care. It should be the aim of education to reduce this percentage to a smaller figure.

I see, therefore, the function of the marriage-family counselling service as one more agency, whether done by individual specialists or in group efforts, set in the direction of reducing the proportion of population who break down and have to be rehabilitated by one or the other of the curative agencies. The question of most significance is that of formulating and encouraging the adoption of sound standards of training and experience for those of personal and other qualifications who do family counselling as a vocation, either as a specialist operating alone, or in conjunction with existing professional groups. This also applies to those in the professions who are counselling in this field. They very often undertake to give counsel and advice quite outside the realm of their own understanding of the nature of the problems involved. It is not a question of whether the job is peculiarly that of the social worker, psychiatrist, or other existing specialist, but of how existing specialists already in the various professions and others desiring to enter this particular field can be given more training of a better kind in order to serve more adequately the demand which is being made for this type of service.

CLINICAL TREATMENT OF MARITAL CONFLICTS

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INCREASING emphasis upon the study of the family and its problems has led inevitably to the consideration of the subject of treatment. With regard to participation in this field, social scientists have tended, for the most part, to fall into either of two groups. One group, divorced from research interest, has become absorbed in therapy for its own sake. The second group looks upon all treatment as unscientific and therefore as making no contribution to systematic theory and general understanding of either the family or its problems.

These opposing points of view have led to confusion in the minds of those persons who are interested in the therapeutic aspects. This confusion is to be found in the widely divergent conceptions not only of the family but of the therapeutic process itself. Thus one observes a wide range in therapeutic procedure from counseling of the most superficial sort to clinical treatment upon a scientific plane.

Counseling itself runs the gamut from that of furnishing guidance by correspondence to that of giving advice in so-called clinics and centers. Here the services take one of two forms in which the counselor either deals with the superficial aspects of the situation on a common-sense basis, or refers the case to specialized agencies in the community, assuming himself little responsibility for the treatment of the specific problems presented. The tendency in either instance is to over-simplify the situation and to deal with the apparent rather than the real factors, or to treat one factor as though it constituted the whole of the marriage conflict pattern. Thus sex-hygiene counseling, treatment of parent-child conflicts, or advice in home management, or what not, is thought to bring about the desired remedial results.

Obviously the function which these so-called family counselors perform is not unique and does not differ fundamentally from that performed by ministers, friends, relatives, social workers, teachers, and occasionally family physicians and lawyers. Perhaps it is only logical with the increase in the divorce rate and in the prevalence of family conflicts that the number of these counselors increase. From the standpoint of contributing to scientific knowledge in the field of family adjustment, however, they offer little or nothing. Yet it is doubtful if in most instances their efforts interfere with the well-being and adjustment of the patient, for eventually he will probably seek more expert assistance. Certainly one would have to believe in omens and fortune tellers to accept without challenge statements of the efficacy of the efforts of many persons engaged in counseling, since their

contacts with the patients are often of surprisingly short duration with no thorough analysis of the changed situations.

In contrast to the counseling approach, the clinical treatment of marital conflict recognizes that its effectiveness is a function of the adequacy of its theoretical postulates. In turn it takes the position that the treatment procedure must be consistent with, and corollary to, the therapist's theory of family relationships. Only too frequently family specialists, when faced with concrete problems of therapy, abandon their theoretical conceptions and fall back upon common-sense procedures.

Furthermore, an adequate approach to clinical treatment requires the recognition of three indispensable objectives: (1) research, (2) test of hypotheses, and (3) development of communicable techniques.

The clinical approach frankly recognizes the tentativeness of its conceptual background, and looks upon the relationship between the patient and the therapist as the source of knowledge from which may come a more thorough understanding of personality and family problems. In this it contributes to research where casual observation, autobiographies, and life history documents leave off, by providing a flexibility of contact with facts in which the creative imagination may function in the development of more adequate theories. Here, in other words, is provided the laboratory in which theoretical speculation, in interaction with concrete facts, takes on a reality, and new theory and systematic interpretation are drawn from actual case materials.

Linked with the research objective is the test of hypotheses or principles. Domestic discord therapy presents no exceptions to the rule that the appropriateness of analyses is a function of the workability of treatment techniques derived from, and in harmony with, these analyses. The therapeutic situation, then, makes it possible for the scientist to take his theories and reformulate them into procedures of control. If this control is successful, this fact itself confirms the validity of the theory. To the extent to which it is unsuccessful, it indicates the need for the sharpening of the details of theory.

With the experimental development of successful controls there is built up a body of tested techniques, which are communicable to others in the field. It is at this point that the therapeutic process becomes something more than an art, in that it results in the formulation of general rules of procedure the efficacy of which is not dependent upon the personal attributes of the therapist.

The final results of clinical treatment (clinical research as it might be more appropriately called) is that, by revealing the pre-marriage factors out of which domestic discord develops, the basis is laid for prediction of future marriage relationships. This should eventually lead the way to a more scientific preventive therapy than is currently used in pre-marital

clinics, where so much dependence has to be placed upon intuition and highly generalized advice or instruction.

In the prosecution of a program which takes into account the objectives outlined above, certain practical problems and procedures need to be considered.

The clinician is inevitably faced with certain ethical problems. If he should wish to publish data from his case records, would this constitute a violation of confidence? The material, of a highly intimate and personal nature, is given him under an implied professional ethical code. Under what conditions, then, is it possible for him to use these data? It seems quite certain that in almost every instance some time would have to elapse between contact with the case and the publication of the material. Furthermore, even with the lapse of time each case would have to be carefully considered and its identity ingeniously disguised. Since each marriage partner in most instances reveals details with which the other is unfamiliar, the problem might be complicated if the case were identified. In some groups this possibility of identification would be negligible, while in others, particularly those of high social and economic status, the problem is a real one.

Occasionally a person has been known to tell a patient that he will "take his case," if he may use the material for teaching or publication purposes. This seems rarely justified and is quite contradictory to a professional approach. Such a procedure may cause the patient to falsely believe that his case is unique and of special interest; it places the clinician under obligation to the patient; the patient, conscious that the material is to be used, may either withhold certain intimate data or, if he revels in attention, may tend to add spectacular details; and at best it takes unfair advantage of the patient.

Another practical problem is the limitation of the number and types of cases to be studied and treated. Clinical research is time consuming, since it requires long and frequent consultations over months of contact and, therefore, the number of cases dealt with is relatively small. Persons accustomed to thinking in terms of statistical findings will find the numbers much too discouraging for highly valid quantitative conclusions.

Because of the necessity for carrying through the program in each individual case as efficiently as possible without interruption, the clinician finds it necessary to set up certain criteria for the types of cases accepted for study. For example, if his emphasis is upon marital conflicts, he accepts only those cases where *both* husband and wife can be studied. To insure this possibility, therefore, he does not accept applications from relatives, friends, or even one of the marriage partners, but insists that both apply for, and understand, the service and what it involves before any program is initiated.

The clinician recognizes that cases highly complex in character often

come in the guise of what appears on the surface as more superficial problems or factors. He learns to recognize the symbolic significance of many of these factors and to realize how long the period of therapy will involve. He also learns that, when parents come to him complaining of their children's problems, they are in many instances using this contact as the point of entree with the consultant about their own marital conflicts. It is quite true that the child may present a problem, but not infrequently this problem is only incidental to that of the parents, and in any case so intertwined that it cannot be dealt with separately.

In the analysis, likewise, there are many hazards which need to be kept in mind. There is often a temptation to interpret a situation upon the basis of superficial knowledge. Theories are thus read into fragmentary factual data in an unwarranted fashion. In this way the theory is allowed to warp the data into predetermined patterns by providing a selective mechanism which leaves uncovered the larger body of material. This is well illustrated in the following domestic discord case handled in a psychiatric clinic:

The psychiatrist had discovered that Mrs. A's father was a very dictatorial, patriarchal, sort of individual who ruled the entire family. Mrs. A had been very much devoted to her father but was afraid of him. It had been against his wishes that she became engaged to a young dentist who was a gentile. (Mrs. A was Jewish.) While still engaged to this dentist she met Mr. A and eloped with him after a two weeks' acquaintanceship. The family of both were at first opposed to the match, Mrs. A's chiefly on the ground that it was an elopement and Mr. A's because he was the third youngest of three brothers, none of whom had yet married.

Mrs. A told the psychiatrist that her husband had always been somewhat jealous of the dentist and his feeling had become more acute when the dentist sued her for breach of promise. The husband, according to his wife, had the feeling that his wife wished to return to the other man.

According to the analysis made, Mrs. A had always had an incestuous attachment for her father. She repressed this but found some outlet for the feeling in having an attachment to the dentist who, because he was non-Jewish, was also a person separated from her by a barrier. When she married Mr. A she made a temporary transfer of this feeling to him, the barrier consisting of a broken engagement and the opposition of their parents, particularly her husband's. For a while, when the husband was earning money and fighting family opposition, he had a position of authority which she was able to identify with the position held by her father. Later when the opposition was removed (parents won over, suit with the dentist settled) and Mr. A no longer had prestige and authority by means of being head of a family in an economic sense, she was no longer able to identify him with the authoritative person separated from her by any barrier who represented her father to her and she consequently became unhappy and dissatisfied.

Later study of the case revealed that the dentist to whom Mrs. A referred was Jewish like herself; that she had never been engaged to him; that the suit was not for breach of promise, but for an unpaid dental bill; and that there had been no parental opposition to the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. A.

The clinician in the case of Mrs. A made three rather common errors in diagnostic procedure. First, he failed to recognize the type of personality with which he was dealing, for had he done so he would have suspected a certain amount of phantasying on the part of the wife. Secondly, since he did not see the husband he was not in an advantageous position to get a complete picture of the conflict and to interpret the wife's portrayal; and finally, he permitted his theory to pattern the data which he obtained in the interview.

The validity of analysis of a domestic discord case requires a thorough understanding of the personality patterns of both persons and of their attitudes toward each other. Errors in analysis are inevitable, if only one of the marriage partners is interviewed, and if in the interest of preserving one's preconceptions, contradictory facts are ignored. In the case of Mrs. A, whose social status was somewhat lower than that of the dentist, a suit for breach of promise on his part would be highly improbable. Secondly, for the cultural group from which Mr. and Mrs. A came, parental opposition would hardly be upon the basis of the fact that Mr. A's brothers were yet unmarried.

When analysis rests upon comprehensive study of the whole marriage conflict pattern, its internal consistency stands as a guarantee that it will not need to be radically changed as treatment progresses. This does not mean that analysis is made with such finality that it cannot be modified, but the general pattern does remain. If the clinician cannot achieve this degree of assurance, he is in no position to treat the case, since an invalid analysis may easily lead one upon a program of therapy which is harmful to the patient. This may be illustrated in the B case:

Mrs. B complained to the physician in the mental-hygiene clinic that she heard strange noises from the apartment below her, that the neighbors talked about her, and that they tormented her with noise and strange odors. She felt that she should be sent to a rest home and refused to go home, if this could not be arranged. The patient was diagnosed as having evidence of schizophrenia consisting of delusions of paranoid type with ideas of influence. It was recommended that Mrs. B be sent to a rest home for a month giving her relief from household cares and the irritating influences of her home environment. She was looked upon as incompetent and it was recommended that her children be placed. If these measures were unsuccessful, the patient was to be committed to an institution.

Upon the basis of the restricted materials, the above diagnosis may seem to be a plausible one, since there is nothing to indicate the function of

Mrs. B's behavior in the larger pattern of her social adjustment. When, however, one realizes that it was characteristic of Mrs. B from childhood to find ways of avoiding unpleasant responsibilities, the so-called delusions become intelligible. Mrs. B did not like housework, nor the care of the children, because it was a part of the marriage situation which she had never accepted. She avoided sexual relations by being too "tired," and household responsibilities by complaining of illness. Her marriage had been characterized by frequent visits to the hospital with physical findings always negative. Her complaints about the neighbors were thus but a part of the larger escape-response pattern which had characterized her adjustment throughout life.

In this particular instance, Mrs. B wished a larger and more convenient apartment than she could afford. The family income was being supplemented by a social service agency which had refused to increase the allowance. Mrs. B considered the five rooms too crowded for her needs and the absence of hot water unfavorable for the rheumatic condition of which she complained. In terms of past experience she had reason to believe she would get a more desirable apartment, if she created the proper background to her plea.

Mrs. B readily admitted to the writer that her stories were highly exaggerated for the purpose of gaining her ends. Her neighbors talked about her, it is true, because she had had a part-time maid and sat all day and read books in a community where housewives do their own work, and reading, except for the newspapers, is not the mode. The odors were from the fermentation of grapes in the home manufacture of wine. The noises were caused by dancing when the neighbors had parties and as Mrs. B later said were not in any way directed at her.

The recommendation that Mrs. B be sent to a rest home and her children placed, fostered a continuance of the well-established escape pattern which was characteristic of Mrs. B's personality. On the other hand, recognition of this behavior pattern called for a program of therapy designed to induce Mrs. B to assume normal responsibilities. Thus the two diagnoses led to diametrically opposed programs. The first program could only have palliative consequences at best and might be actually deleterious, if carried to the extent of leading to commitment. In contrast, the second program envisaged the rehabilitation of the individual and an adjustment of her to the marriage situation and to her social surroundings. This latter program was meticulously carried out and its validity confirmed by the realization of its ultimate goal.

Treatment also presents certain problems with which the therapist must deal. One of the most common of these problems is to continue contact with the patients over a long period of time. There is a tendency for many individuals to feel optimistic after one or two intensive interviews, in spite

of the fact that the complexity of their problems is pointed out to them and the necessity for a long-time program of therapy is emphasized. Perhaps this is nothing more than the natural feeling of relief after the release of pent-up emotions which must accompany much of the intimate data given. However, in most instances, it does seem that the first two interviews enable the patients to take a more objective outlook toward their conflicts. Thus, for example, in a case where the husband had had extra-marital contacts over a period of years unknown to his wife, and was separated from her, upon his own initiative following the interview he told her of these contacts. They were able to discuss the matter objectively, the wife going over with her husband the qualities which these women had which she did not possess.

While being able to look at one's problems objectively is the first step in the therapeutic process, it should not be mistaken for the whole. For either the patients or the therapist to assume at this point that the couple can themselves work out an adjustment is a mistaken notion. Accomplishments of therapy, in the final analysis, represent growth and development. But such growth and development is not automatic in character and has to be directed and facilitated by the therapist; otherwise no matter how propitious is the beginning, no lasting results are accomplished.

The process of therapy, then, is a leisurely one in which the patient must of necessity be given time and opportunity to recreate his experiences in the light of the clinician's analysis. Past experiences are recalled and recast in memory into patterns having greater objectivity. Implications for future conduct are sensed by the patient but require further buttressing on the part of the therapist before they eventuate into activity.

Yet, with numerous contacts over a considerable period of time, it is necessary that the patients do not become dependent upon the therapist. This is prevented in the earlier contacts by the therapist maneuvering the patient into the reinterpretation of his experiences in the light of the analysis given him, and into situations where it appears that he is making the decisions. Later, as contacts are tapered off, the patient actually extends the interpretation himself and makes his decisions unaided, as the therapist cautiously brings the treatment process to a close.

With the completion of the treatment process, it is necessary to make as thorough analysis of the current situation from the standpoint of both husband and wife, as was made of the conflict situation upon first contacts. This later analysis is made through the use of the same thorough interviewing procedure and may be supplemented by marital-adjustment tests. Only with this type of inventory is the therapist able to scientifically evaluate the results of his treatment.

Where it is necessary to utilize specialized services, as not infrequently happens, it is essential to retain complete control over these supplementary

processes. This means that the therapist must integrate these specialized services into a therapeutic program, the basic pattern of which he himself provides. Instruction in birth control and sex hygiene, recommendations based upon psychological tests and upon medical examinations, etc., are of little value except as part of a program which recognizes that sex conflict, complaints of ill health, vocational maladjustment, etc., are often only overt manifestations of more fundamental covert conflicts. It follows, accordingly, that those persons who think they are able to treat cases of domestic discord by simply giving the couple a book to read, sending them to a sex-hygiene clinic, or the wife for instruction in home management, exhibit a high degree of naivete, indeed!

What then does the future hold for the scientific treatment of marital conflicts? Inasmuch as the number of cases per clinician will be comparatively small, clinical research will never have the enthusiastic support of those persons who are impressed with large numbers. The justification of worth-while programs will have to come through the achievement of fundamental accomplishments, thoroughly demonstrated and checked. Therefore, it will be necessary to look to those sources for support who have unfaltering faith in experimental research and in its ultimate utility.

Clinical treatment seems to point the way to a more fruitful development of family research than any other approach yet devised. The student of the family finds in the clinic the laboratory technique for obtaining experimentally the essential materials with which he has to work in the development of scientific inferences, and for verifying his inductions. Such developments, however, will need to avoid the superficial and the spectacular. Thus for scientific understanding and control of domestic discord problems it will be necessary to look toward the establishment of research clinics rather than of advice-giving stations.

Official Reports *and* Proceedings

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO- LOGICAL SOCIETY, HOTEL CLARIDGE, ATLANTIC CITY NEW JERSEY, DECEMBER 28 to 30, 1937

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 8:30- 9:00 A.M. **Registration** of members and guests of the Society, and reservation of luncheon and dinner tickets.
- 9:00-10:00 A.M. **Business Meeting** for reports of committees and representatives of the Society.
- 10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Human Ecology.** C. A. Dawson, McGill University, Chairman.
Topic: "Trends of Social Adjustment in Newly Industrialized Areas."
"The Industrialization of Drumondville, P. Q.," E. C. Hughes, McGill University.
Discussion: Frank A. Ross, Syracuse University.
"Industry Comes to North Carolina," Harriet L. Herring, University of North Carolina.
Discussion: Broadus Mitchell, Johns Hopkins University.
- 12:00 M. "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Detroit," Erdman D. Beynon, University of Michigan.
Discussion: Earl S. Johnson, University of Chicago.
- 12:00 M. **Luncheon Meeting: Section on Educational Sociology.** Leslie Day Zeleny, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota, Chairman.
"Next Steps in Educational Sociology," C. C. Peters, Pennsylvania State College.
- 1:00- 3:00 P.M. **Section on Rural Sociology.** George H. Von Tungeln, Iowa State College, Chairman.
Committee Report: "The Field and Function of Rural Sociological Research," C. E. Lively, Ohio State University, Chairman; Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University; Lowry Nelson, Utah Agricultural College.
Discussion.

Section on the Family. Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University, Chairman.

Topic I: "Depression and Family Life."

"Ecological Changes in Family Disintegration in Chicago," Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University.

"The Family and the Depression," Ruth Shonle Cavan, Rockford College.

Discussion.

Section on Political Sociology. C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, Chairman.

"Social Theory and Social Practice in State Government," Read Bain, Miami University.

"Social Theory and Social Practice in Municipal Government," Albert Lepawsky, Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago.

"The Visible and Invisible Government in the United States," C. J. Bushnell, University of Toledo.

Discussion.

3:00- 5:00 P.M.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, Chairman.

Topic: "Recent Developments in Group Work and Community Organization."

"Theories of Group Behavior Based on Group Work Experience," Grace L. Coyle, Western Reserve University.

"Recent Trends in Community Organization," Walter W. Pettit, New York School of Social Work.

Section on the Community. Arthur Evans Wood, University of Michigan, Chairman.

Topic: "Newer Methods in Community Study."

"Urbanism as a Way of Life," Louis Wirth, University of Chicago.

Discussion: C. A. Dawson, McGill University.

"A Study of Four Depression Towns," Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

Discussion: R. C. Fuller, University of Michigan.

Summary Discussion: A. E. Wood.

Section on Criminology. C. E. Gehlke, Western Reserve University, Chairman.

"Milieu Pattern and Crime," Hans von Hentig, Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, Washington, D. C.

"The Prisoner Community as a Social Group," Norman S. Hayner and Ellis Ash, University of Washington.

Joint Session of the Section on Social Statistics and the American Statistical Association. Thomas C. McCormick, University of Wisconsin, Chairman.

Topic: "Some Statistical Methods."

"A Study of the Relationships between Juvenile Delinquency and Other Indices of Social Disorganization," Jerry A. Neprash, Franklin and Marshall College.

Discussion: Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University.

"A Rating Scale for State Care of Mental Patients," Ellen Winston, Raleigh, N. C.

Discussion: Robert E. L. Faris, Brown University.

"The Analysis and Treatment of Refusals and Partial Information Schedules in Social Surveys," Mildred Parten, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Discussion: A. R. Mangus, Division of Social Research, W.P.A.

4:00- 5:00 P.M. **Meeting of the Nominating Committee.**

5:00- 6:00 P.M. **Meeting of the Executive Committee.**

8:00 P.M. **General Meeting of the Society.** Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago, Chairman.

Topic: "The Sociology of War."

Speakers to be announced.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

8:00 A.M. **University of Chicago Breakfast.**

9:00-10:00 A.M. **Business Meeting of the Society.**

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Social Psychology.** John Dollard, Yale University, Chairman.

"A Psychological Interpretation of the Black Legion," Elmer Akers, University of Michigan.

Discussion: Robert E. L. Faris, Brown University.

"The Social Role of a Fijian Chief," C. S. Ford, Yale University.

Discussion: Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University.
General Discussion.

12:00 M. **Joint Luncheon Meeting of the Section on Rural Sociology and the American Farm Association.** George H. Von Tungeln, Iowa State College, Chairman.

"Disadvantaged Rural Classes," L. C. Gray, Resettlement Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Discussion: C. C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

1:00- 3:00 P.M. **Section on Social Statistics.** Thomas C. McCormick, University of Wisconsin, Chairman.

Program to be announced.

Section on Educational Sociology. Leslie Day Zeleny, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota, Chairman.

"Co-operation in the Classroom," Dorothy R. Clement, Atlantic City Public Schools.

"Motion Picture Influence Modified by Community Backgrounds," Paul G. Cressey, New York University.

"The Teacher in the Community," Lloyd Allen Cook, Ohio State University.

Section on Sociology and Psychiatry. Willard Waller, Barnard College, Chairman.

Topic: "Sociological Aspects of the Mental Hygiene Movement."

"A Sociological Interpretation of the Mental Hygiene Movement," Kingsley Davis, Pennsylvania State College.

"Mental Hygiene and the Status Quo," James W. Woodard, Temple University.

Discussion.

3:00- 5:00 P.M.

Section of Criminology. C. E. Gehlke, Western Reserve University, Chairman.

Program to be announced.

Section on the Family. Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University, Chairman.

Topic II: "Marital and Familial Adjustment."

"Prediction and the Marital Adjustment of Engaged Couples," E. W. Burgess and Paul Wolinsky, University of Chicago.

"Ordinal Position in Relation to Temperamental Trend, Occupational Choice, and Familial Adjustment," Maurice H. Krout, Chicago City Junior Colleges.

Discussion.

Section on the Sociology of Religion. Sidney E. Goldstein, Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, Chairman.

"The Influence of Religion in Determining Group Attitudes," Hornell Hart, Hartford Theological Seminary.

Discussion: Father John J. McClafferty, Catholic Charities of New York; J. Howard Howson, Vassar College.

Section on Rural Sociology.

Business Meeting. George H. Von Tungeln, Iowa State College, Chairman.

Topic: "The Field and Function of Extension Rural Sociology." R. A. Polson, Cornell University, Chairman.

"Trends in Extension Sociology," Howard W. Beers, Rutgers University.

"Some Problems of the Extension Sociologist," D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois.
Discussion.

- 5:00-6:00 P.M. **Meeting of the Executive Committee.**
7:00 P.M. **Annual Dinner of the American Sociological Society.**
Presidential Address: Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

- 8:00 A.M. **Breakfast of the Southern Sociological Society.**
9:00-10:00 A.M. **Annual Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society.** Election of Officers.
10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Social Biology.** Frank Lorimer, Population Association of America, Chairman.
"Differential Fertility in the East North Central States," Frank W. Notestein, Princeton University.
"Some Recent Studies of the Intelligence of Migrants," Otto Klineberg, Columbia University.
"Some Structural Aspects of Selective Migration," Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Yale University.
Discussion: Frederick Osborn, New York City; Noel B. Gist, University of Kansas.
12:00 M. **Luncheon Meeting: Section on the Sociology of Religion.** Sidney E. Goldstein, Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, Chairman.
Topic: "The Relation of Religion to the Major Social Trends of Today—Communism, Fascism, Democracy."
For Catholicism: Right Reverend John A. Ryan, National Catholic Welfare Conference.
For Protestantism: Frank Kingdon, University of Newark.
For Judaism: Sidney E. Goldstein, Jewish Institute of Religion.
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Topic: "Tenancy, Resettlement, Relief, and Social Security."
"The Social Status of Farm Tenants," Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University.
"Resettlement with Particular Implications and Prospects for Youth," Aubrey Williams, National Youth Administration.
"Social Security as a Function of Society," J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.
Discussion.

Section on Sociology and Psychiatry. E. M. Jellinek, Worcester State Hospital, Chairman.

"The Mental Hospital as a Social Institution," Robert E. L. Faris, Brown University.

"Interaction Processes in the Mental Hospital," Howard Rowland, Pennsylvania State College.

"Readjustment of the Mental Patient in Family and Community," Elizabeth Proehl, Worcester State Hospital.

Discussion.

Section on Educational Sociology. Francis J. Brown, New York University, presiding.

Program to be announced.

3:00- 5:00 P.M.

Division on Social Research. George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, Chairman.

"The Sociological Significance of Measurable Attitudes," Richard T. La Piere, Stanford University.

"Patterns of Friendship," Robert K. Merton, Harvard University.

"Sociological Implications of Market Research," Paul Lazarsfeld, University of Newark.

"Implications of a Postulate Treatment of Social Theory for Social Research," Raymond V. Bowers, University of Rochester.

Joint Session of the Section on Sociology and Social Work and the American Association for Labor Legislation. Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington, Chairman.

Topic: "Mobility and Social Security."

"Migratory Labor on the Pacific Coast," Paul S. Taylor, University of California.

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"A Sociological Interpretation of Political Phases of Communism, Fascism, and Democracy," Fred R. Yoder, Washington State College.

"The Political Demagogue and his Methods," Sigmund Neumann, Connecticut Wesleyan University.

Discussion.

Business Meeting.

Section on the Community. A. E. Wood, University of Michigan, Chairman.

Topic: "Newer Methods in Community Study."

"Life Histories in Community Studies," John Dollard, Yale University.

Discussion: R. C. Angell, University of Michigan.

"Co-ordinating Councils and Community Process,"

Martin H. Neumeyer, University of Southern California.

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Summary Discussion: A. E. Wood.

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Topic: "The Relation of Ideas to Social Action."

"The Analysis of Social Forces in the Determination of Ideas," Hans Speier, New School for Social Research.

"The Role of Ideas in the Determination of Action,"

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Discussion: Frank H. Knight, University of Chicago;

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Talcott Parsons, Harvard University.

Discussion: Frank H. Knight, University of Chicago;
Alexander von Schelting, Columbia University;
Louis Wirth, University of Chicago.

CURRENT ITEMS

American Association for the Advancement of Science. Mr. F. C. Brown, Director of Exhibits, has sent a request to the *Review* for co-operation of sociologists in the next Annual Science Exhibit to be held in Murat Theater, Indianapolis, December 27-30. The Association pays for space, booth, and so forth, for exhibits from members of affiliated societies.

Eastern Sociological Society. This group will hold its next annual meeting at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. on April 16-17, 1938. Dr. C. G. Dittmer, President, announces that there will be no central topic, and that the emphasis will be on discussion groups and reports of current research.

Educational Broadcasting. The Second National Conference of Educational Broadcasting will be held at the Drake Hotel in Chicago, November 29, 30 and December 1, 1937. The Conference is sponsored by a large number of national civic, educational and other organizations. Details of the program may be secured from the Executive Secretary, C. S. Marsh, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

Marietta College. Dr. Albert Blumenthal, recently at Dartmouth College, has been appointed to the faculty at Marietta College to replace Dr. Cuber, who has accepted a position at Kent College.

National Archives. The Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Frank D. McAlister, formerly a deputy examiner in the Division of Accessions, to the position of Chief of the Division of Department of Justice Archives. Dr. Edmond S. Meany, of the Division of Classification, has resigned to accept a teaching position with the Hill School at Pottstown, Pennsylvania.

The National Archives has recently received additions of extensive materials of importance to research students in the fields of American political, economic, financial, and industrial history.

New Jersey College. Dr. John Winchell Riley, Ph.D. Harvard, who taught last year at Wellesley, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology.

New York University. Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher and Dr. Harvey W. Zorbaugh have been promoted from Associate Professor to Professor of Education in the School of Education, Washington Square, New York City.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. Dr. Theodore G. Standing, Ph.D. at the University of Iowa 1932, and formerly Assistant Professor of Sociology at Iowa, becomes Associate Professor of Sociology and will begin his duties on September 1. During the recent Summer Session he was a visiting instructor in Sociology.

Mr. William H. Sewell formerly instructor in Sociology at the University of Minnesota assumed his duties as Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology on July 15. Mr. Sewell holds the B.A. and M.A. degrees from Michigan State College, and completed his residence requirements for the Ph.D. at Minnesota in June of this year.

Pennsylvania State College. Mr. Howard Rowland is on leave of absence for study at the Yale Institute of Human Relations. His place on the faculty is being filled by Mr. Selden D. Bacon, who has been a graduate student at Yale for some time.

Texas A. and M. College. The North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station has just published Bulletin No. 309, "Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families," by C. Horace Hamilton, who is now with the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. This bulletin is based on studies of approximately 3,500 rural families in seven North Carolina counties. General subjects covered by the Bulletin are changes in farm tenure status, the agricultural ladder, changes in crop acreages and incomes, population composition and characteristics, trends in marriages, births, and migration, and trends in educational status. The above subjects are analyzed in relation to farm tenure and color. Copies of the Bulletin may be obtained free of charge from the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, State College Station, Raleigh, North Carolina.

University of Kentucky. Dr. Vivian M. Palmer has been appointed to an assistant professorship in Sociology.

Prof. Harry Best, who received the LL.D. degree from Centre College last June, is announced as the author of United States Senate Document 11, "A Compilation of the Laws Relating to Corrupt Practices at Elections in the United States."

University of Minnesota. Dr. Lowry Nelson has been appointed Professor of Rural Sociology. Dr. Nelson was formerly Director, Extension Division, Dean, College of Applied Science, and Professor of Rural Social Economics, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Director, Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, Logan, Utah, 1936-37.

University of Nebraska. A graduate school of social work has been established by the Board of Regents, the first term to begin September 15, 1937. Information regarding the school and its courses of study may be secured by writing Director Ernest F. Witte, 211 Social Science Building, the University of Nebraska at Lincoln.

Wayne University. Mr. Horace Miner has been appointed instructor in sociology in the Anthropology Division, and Mrs. Helen Smith lecturer in sociology.

In the Graduate School of Social Work, Mr. Herman Jacobs has been appointed professorial supervisor of group work, and Miss Opal Matson instructor in social work. Mrs. Elise Campbell, Miss Pauline Gollub, Mr. Ephraim R. Gomborg, Dr. Ruth Hubbard and Dr. Lee Vincent have been added as lecturers in social work.

Periodical Literature

GERMAN JOURNALS

SIGMUND NEUMANN

Wesleyan University

- Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* (15, 2, 1937).—Fritz Schalk: Formen und Disharmonien der französischen Aufklärung [Forms and Disharmonies of the French Enlightenment], 253–268.—Werner Krauss: H. de Bonald und die Theorie der Restauration [Bonald and the Theory of the Restauration], 269–294.
- Die Erziehung* (12, 8, 1937).—Johannes Feige: Die freie Zeit im Leben des heutigen Arbeitmenschen. [Leisure-time in the Life of the Modern Workingman], 361–369.
- Europäische Revue* (13, 4–5, 1937).—Hans Heinrich Schader: Jacob Burckhardt und die geschichtlichen Mächte [Burckhardt and the Historical Forces], 283–296.—Constantin Radulescu-Motru: Psychologie des Rumänischen Volkes [Psychology of the Roumanian People], 364–375.
- Historische Zeitschrift* (156, 1–2, 1937).—G. Beyerhaus: Die konservative Staatsidee in Frankreich und ihr Einfluss auf die Geschichtswissenschaft [The Conservative Idea of the State in France and Its Influence on French Historical Science], 1–23.—Fritz Schalk: Das antiromantische Denken im modernen Frankreich [Antiromantic Thought in Modern France], 24–39.—O. Vossler: Die italienische Expansion 1881–1935 [The Italian Expansion], 284–306.—Wilhelm Grau: Geschichte der Judenfrage [History of the Jewish Question], 307–320.
- Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung* (6, 3, 1937).—Eduard Baumgarten: John Dewey. Theorie der menschlichen Natur. [The Theory of Human Nature], 177–200.
- Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* (146, 1, 1937).—Hans Kruschwitz: Die Deutsche Wohnungswirtschaft seit 1933 [Housing Policy in Germany since 1933], 26–53.
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Assistant to the Editor

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The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization. By EDWARD WESTERMARCK, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xiv+280. \$2.50.

When Professor Westermarck wrote his great history of human marriage he attacked those who asserted that marriage did not exist from the beginning; in this book he contends against those who predict that it will not continue to the end. The structure of his argument is, within its own terms, consistent. His method, stated in the preface and restated in the conclusion, is to establish the existence of causes of marriage, to show that these causes are likely to endure, and to conclude that marriage will therefore persist.

What is meant by marriage? In the first chapter the term is defined most broadly; it includes any social institution sanctioned by law which designates persons in

respect of sexual and parental rights and duties. Anything other than the hypothetical promiscuity of the primitive "hordes" of 19th century anthropology would seem to be marriage. In later chapters the author subtly shifts his base. He argues against polygyny and includes the modern advocates of polygyny with the critics of marriage.

Westermarck sees three essentials in modern marriage: sex, procreation and the husband-wife relationship. As to the sex urge, he concedes that it is stimulated by variety in the object, (and hence not by monogamy). As to procreation and parental care, he declares that the causes of primitive marriage no longer have force. "The race would not die out if women and children now and in the future had no husbands or fathers to look after them." But he believes that the effects of the primitive family-marriage complex have survived in human nature as instincts, and that these instincts are now among the guarantors of the future of marriage. Thus the effect of primitive marriage becomes a persistent cause of modern and future marriage through the medium of instincts. There are no citations to the literature of genetics, and the psychologist whose work is mentioned in connection with the paternal and maternal instinct is Herbert Spencer.

And what of the husband-wife relationship? Westermarck's method compels him to pose the question as to whether the causes of this feature of marriage are permanent or ephemeral. In meeting this question, the author covers the rather meagre literature in which statistical studies of marital happiness are reported, notably the American studies of G. V. Hamilton and Katherine Davis. And then, after a long sojourn among the monographs and articles on other aspects of marriage, he comes back to his main purpose and his main theme. What is this persistent cause which will continue to operate in the future? The answer that is implied, and almost stated, is that there is a marital instinct to accompany the maternal and paternal instincts (p. 170). "The unity of sensual and spiritual elements in sexual love, leading to a more or less durable community of life in a common home, and the desire for and love of offspring are factors which will remain lasting obstacles to the extinction of marriage and the collapse of the family because they are too deeply rooted in human nature to fade away."

The book is valuable as a compendium of recent literature on marriage. It was appropriate that the scientific, pseudo-scientific and critical writings on marriage that flourished so abundantly in the twenties should be somewhere digested within the covers of a single book. It is fortunate that a scholar as competent as Professor Westermarck was willing to do it. And if the appeal to a psychology of instinct seems a little out of fashion in the 1930's, let the critics reflect that whatever may be the life expectancy of the institution of marriage, it is certainly far greater than that of today's psychology.

ROBERT C. BINKLEY

Western Reserve University

Sex and Personality: Studies in Masculinity and Femininity. By LEWIS M. TERMAN AND CATHARINE COX MILES. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936. Pp. viii+470. 7 appendices, 16 illustrations. \$4.50.

The Riddle of Woman: A Study in the Social Psychology of Sex. By DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM. New York: Lee Furman, 1936. Pp. 465. \$3.50.

Problems of the Family. By WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., rev. ed., 1936. Pp. viii+506. \$3.50.

Moslem Women Enter a New World. By RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL. New York; Round Table Press, 1936. Pp. 416. 1 appendix, 31 illustrations. \$3.00.

The School of Femininity. By MARGARET LAWRENCE. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1936. Pp. xii+382. 6 illustrations. \$3.50.

The Fate of the Family in the Modern World. By ARTHUR E. HOLT. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co., 1936. Pp. 192. \$2.00.

Morals and Marriage: The Catholic Background to Sex. By T. G. WAYNE (pseud.) New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936. Pp. x+81. \$1.25.

The book on *Sex and Personality* had its origin in Terman's earlier work, *Genetic Studies of Genius* (1925), when the author became interested in the question as to whether or no an adult's masculinity-femininity status becomes relatively fixed in middle childhood and preadolescence. The new book, written in collaboration with Catharine Cox Miles and with the assistance of a group of investigators of good repute, seeks to accomplish in the field of masculinity-femininity "something similar to Binet's early achievement in the field of intelligence—a quantification of procedures and concepts." The authors speak modestly of the quantification achieved as simple and rough, but the statistical treatment appears to be a model of carefulness, clarity, and adequacy for the areas tested.

The subjects, mostly Californians, included thousands of school and college students, non-academic adults, several hundred delinquents, some Negro students of Negro colleges, and some Japanese school children in Hawaii. The study was in progress for ten years. The masculinity-femininity test used was really a battery of tests, some long used in testing enterprises, now extended to sample several areas not highly correlated with each other: tests of word association, ink-blot association, information, emotional and ethical attitudes, interests, opinions, introvertive responses. Suggestions for the revision and improvement of the test are offered and the work fairly bristles with questions and leads which might be followed up. For the test as given the assumption is made that "a high average of masculinity or femininity in the fields covered by the test probably affects the total personality picture and has significant correlates in everyday life." No assumption is made as to the causes making for individual differences, the authors being content here to measure differences which do exist and which later may be used in the search to discover determinants, especially with respect to the problem of total sex temperament. Such search would require the combined efforts of physiologists, endocrinologists, biochemists, psychologists and sociologists; and it would have to include "(1) parallel examinations of socially and racially different groups widely different in social tradition and circumstance, and (2) combined psychological and biological case studies of extreme deviants in sex temperaments within a given culture."

Somewhat in line with the last suggestion are the case studies of homosexual males and delinquent girls, which for many will be the most significant portion of the book. The present position of the authors leans toward the theory of psychological conditioning, though they admit that their evidence is far from conclusive. Some readers will doubtless feel that little has been accomplished in the book beyond putting into statistical terms facts already roughly known. To the reviewer, however, that is something of an achievement, and it ought to relieve us of many of the generalizations that are glibly made without basis. Further work in the field, following lines suggested by the authors, may yet produce new and conclusive findings on this ancient question.

Dr. Tenenbaum's discussion is better than its title and the titles of some of the chapters would suggest. Among the latter headings appear the spinster, the witch, the adulteress, the angel, the gossip and the criminal. His discussions concerning the physiology and psychology of women are more valuable and draw on good source materials. Not for psychologists and sociologists who know the literature, but for many others parts of the volume would be informative and stimulating.

The revision of Miss Goodsell's text is more than justified by the inclusion of new data available since 1928 and new points of view which have emerged. The section dealing with the history of the family is a good summary of her own fuller text on that subject, and her account of social conditions reacting upon the family is excellent. Included in that account are: the impact of modern industry, with the phenomena of wage-earning mothers, public aid to mothers and dependent children, and systems of family allowances; the effects of education as seen in the marriage rate among college graduates; problems of birth control, eugenics, illegitimacy and divorce, all growing out of our culture. The new material includes discussion, necessarily brief but good in point of view and sources, of personal relationships within the family. The conviction is expressed that the family of the future "may combine the unity and permanence of the old-time family with sympathetic comradeship and deep emotional satisfactions" which are demanded in modern times.

Miss Woodsmall's book grew out of a nine year secretaryship with the Y.W.C.A. in Turkey and Syria, followed by her tenure of a Rockefeller Institute fellowship which allowed her to travel in other Moslem lands. Her volume is almost a handbook on the changing activities of women in the Islamic world. She is careful to note differences: in thought and activity from country to country; in the immediate causes and accompaniments of changes here and there; in the attitudes of the various peoples toward the foreign influences effecting the changes. The picture of women's large degree of freedom in Turkey is made especially forceful, as is the strategic position of Beirut as an educational center. In spite of the organization of the material which includes the new educational program for women, their new economic role, new health standards and the widening sphere of women's interests in general, one senses a good deal of repetition and feels that, in spite of the notice of nationalistic programs, too little care is given to factors of change beyond the religious. A good index adds to the usefulness of the volume.

The book by Margaret Lawrence is a pretentious and indiscriminating discussion of women writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who "are saying their particular say about themselves, about men, and about life as it treats them separately and together with men." Wide reading evidently preceded the writing of the book, but the judgments expressed in it are rather *jejune*. There is a too evident effort at cleverness, an irritating repetition of ideas and phrases, and a very ungrammatical and high-sounding journalese style throughout. One wonders if the author is conscious of the frequency with which she attributes one trait or another of her subjects to a Jewish strain in their inheritance.

Mr. Holt, Professor of Social Ethics in the Chicago Theological Seminary, presents in his little book a series of slight discussions originally given by radio for a university extension program. Major topics are: types of families characterizing the Orient, Europe and the United States; the menace of individualism; improvements needed in the democratic family; and the contribution of religion. The discussion throughout is strongly ethical and religious, and almost never comes to grips with the real issues.

Dr. Wayne's booklet aims to be "an essay on the workings of the moral virtues in married life," especially with respect to the sex relation. It may be useful to young Catholics, but is too elementary to serve as interpretation to non-Catholics.

A curious ineptness of phrase throughout is illustrated in the title: *Morals and Marriage: The Catholic Background to Sex*.

GLADYS BRYSON

Smith College

An Empirical Study of the Ideals of Adolescent Boys and Girls. By SISTER MARY INEZ PHELAN, M. A. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1936. 155 pp. (PhD. dissertation). \$1.25.

This study is based upon two sets of compositions written by 1834 junior and senior high school pupils in 26 parochial schools. The compositions were written in answer to two questions, namely: *Who is your ideal?* and *Why have you chosen this ideal?* The first set of compositions was written in November, 1934; the second, in May, 1935. Between these two dates the teachers were asked to give special instruction in ideals in accordance with a detailed plan furnished by the investigator.

Detailed tables report separately for each sex, and again separately for the junior and senior high school groups, the ideals chosen in November and in May, and the reasons assigned for each choice. There are also some 16 pages of excerpts from the compositions. In connection with each of these excerpts, the sex, age, and intelligence quotient of the subject are given.

The outstanding result of this study is a shift—very marked in some of the groups—towards ideals of a serious moral or religious character between November and May. Since the teaching plan outlined in the dissertation naturally emphasized moral and religious ideals, the results may be considered as indicating the success of the method.

Any study like the present one is likely to draw criticism for lack of objectivity. In the religious atmosphere of the parochial school, children will naturally tend to express religious and moral ideals on signed compositions, particularly after such ideals have been emphasized by the teacher. It is difficult, therefore, to determine how far these compositions represent the real attitudes of the pupils. The importance of ideals in education is such, however, that a study like the present is worth while. For it is better for educators to have very imperfect information about children's ideals than to have no information at all.

PAUL HANLY FURFEY

Catholic University of America

Son of Han. By RICHARD LAPIERE. New York: Harper Bros., 1937. Pp. 314.

The Second-Generation Japanese Problem. By EDWARD K. STRONG, JR. Stanford University Press, California, 1934. Pp. 292. \$3.25.

American sociological studies of family relations and problems have devoted too little attention to the family systems of the Far East. For examples of the patriarchal family they have turned to records of ancient Greece and Rome, and have failed to exploit the interesting materials to be found in abundance in modern China and Japan. A recent volume which goes far toward filling this gap is *Son of Han*, a novel whose story finds its central theme in the inner workings of the family system in China just before its impact with Western culture. The writer, a Stanford sociologist, has produced not merely a popular novel distinguished for its exquisite prose, but a volume which throws a flood of light on the customs bound up with the patriarchal family and its capacity to mold to its will the lives of its members. College students enrolled in courses on the family will probably profit

more from reading this book than by the study of more formal treatises on this subject, and at the same time will get an intimate view of the old literary examinations and the role of the scholar in Chinese culture.

A book of an entirely different character, but also of interest to students of family life and problems, is *The Second-Generation Japanese Problem*. This volume, which was also written by a Stanford professor, a psychologist, is a report of an educational and occupational study of American citizens of Japanese ancestry in California in the early 1930's. The central theme of the book is the adjustment of the American-born Japanese to their environment, and deals more with their educational attainments and vocational problems than with the changes in family traditions that occur through contact with the American way of life.

In order to give a background for an understanding of the Japanese situation, there is presented a historical review of Japanese immigration to this country, together with a statistical analysis of our Japanese population. Chapters of special interest to sociologists are those reporting the specific types of complaints made against the Japanese in California and discussing the general problem of race prejudice. It is pointed out that, contrary to popular assumption, Japanese families in America are not excessive in size and tend to follow the pattern of other immigrant groups. Mention is made of the problems faced by the young second-generation men and women caused by conflicts between Japanese and American marriage customs, but on the whole there is too little attention paid to adjustments of this type. The entire study could have been made of greater value to students of race relations if the report had given as much space to the broad field of family and social relationships as was given to educational and occupational problems.

J. F. STEINER

University of Washington

Étude statistique de la fécondité matrimoniale. By A. C. MUKHERJI. Paris: Hermann and Cie, 1935. Pp. vii+79. 16 frs.

The measure of marital fertility commonly employed is the number of births per given number of married women of given age, say 25 years, or 25-29 years, or 15-49 years, etc. This type of measure is inadequate, however, as Corrado Gini has shown, when the solution of a demographic problem requires that we know the true risk of exposure of the married group in question to conception or delivery. For if, during part of the time period for which one of the above rates is ordinarily given, cohabitation or conception is impossible, then, to obtain a measure of fertility completely adequate for certain purposes (say the measurement of the efficacy of a contraceptive technique, or the coefficient of recourse to such a technique), it is essential that allowance be made for such non-exposure to conception and/or delivery. It is to the development and description of such a measure that Mr. Mukherji's study is devoted. French vital data for 1926-31 are employed.

Various factors may free certain members of a group of married women of given age from exposure to delivery during all or part of a designated time period selected for study. Death of the woman necessarily removes her from exposure. Death of the husband, or divorce, while it does not completely remove the possibility of delivery until nine months later, reduces the probability. A newly married woman, not pregnant at time of marriage, will not be exposed to delivery during the first nine months; a woman who has just given birth will not be exposed for twelve months. A woman who passes out of the childbearing period is no longer exposed. The author's measures are devised to take precise statistical account of each of these risk-of-exposure-reducing factors and are applied both to married women

aged 15 to 49 and to those falling within five-year age groups. The author recognizes that the risk of exposure is reduced by such factors as miscarriage, separation of husband from wife, extended absence of husband (e.g., through war, service in the marine, migration, etc.), sterility, etc., but does not try to measure the degree of reduction inasmuch as the relevant data are lacking.

The author's findings for France confirm Gini's conclusion that matrimonial fertility decreases steadily with age. The average interval between the completion of nine months of exposure to conception and delivery is at a minimum in the age group 15 to 19 and rises steadily and appreciably as one moves into the higher age groups. The author promises similar studies for other countries. The comparisons that will then be made possible will be interesting and enlightening.

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

Duke University

Cases on Domestic Relations. By FREDERICK L. KANE. St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1936. Pp. x+572. \$5.00.

For those in the law business who are kin to those in the plumbing trade, this book is a tool that might well find its place in every apprentice's bag. It will be particularly useful to those who intend to be journeyman lawyers in and about New York. In a conventional outline the book sets forth an intelligent selection of rule-of-thumb cases drawn largely from the courts of New York and New Jersey during the past decade.

Members of the legal profession with a scholarly interest will find little in Professor Kane's collection, either of historical background or of sociological implication. Footnote references are largely innocent of the contributions made to current family law by medieval religious practice and social organization, and even by leading eighteenth and nineteenth-century jurists. Most of the references that do appear are seemingly drawn from secondary and tertiary sources.

Ten years after one law school in New York City began to sniff the scent of social interest in the field of family law and broadened its range in the quest, a sister law school is evidently still intent on pursuing a mechanical rabbit.

GEOFFREY MAY

Social Security Board

American Family Laws, Vol. IV, Parent and Child. By CHESTER G. VERNIER. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1936. Pp. xxi+496. \$5.00.

In 1886 Professor Frederic J. Stimson began publication of a two-volume work which analyzed the statutory law of the American States pertaining to all subjects. Fifty years later Professor Vernier is publishing a five-volume statutory analysis of family law alone. This change in volume of statutory material is accompanied by an acceleration in change of content. After a relatively few decades only the legal archeologist peeps under the blanket of dust which now covers Stimson's work. Which raises a question concerning the continuing value of Professor Vernier's efforts.

This fourth volume treats the relation of Parent and Child, in the same way as the earlier volumes treated Marriage, Divorce, and Husband and Wife. Although the first two volumes covered statutes through 1930, the second two go through 1934. For a person interested in comparative State law as it happens to be in these

years of Grace, the tabular analyses, painstakingly presented by Professor Vernier, are of inestimable value. They afford a concise and accurate index of the statutes, not otherwise available. For the layman interested in general description of statutory content, and in current materials about the content of present-day American family law, Professor Vernier's summaries and bibliographies are a convenient source of information. Since historical scholarship is probably not the author's interest in this connection, it may be amiss to mention the absence of historical perspective in the discussions and the absence of more fundamental treatises from the bibliographical references.

As in the earlier volumes Professor Vernier lists his recommendations for change in State laws which would make them more logical or uniform. The suggestions are probably intended to be pragmatic; at least they do not delve beneath the surface into the problems of family relationship. Possibly the fifth and final volume of the work will give the reader a glimpse of the insight which Professor Vernier himself must have acquired from years spent in analyzing these statutory materials.

GEOFFREY MAY

Social Security Board

Caste and Class in a Southern Town. By JOHN DOLLARD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Pp. 501. \$3.50.

Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties. By ARTHUR F. RAPER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. xiii + 423. \$3.50.

In recent years the South has had great appeal as a research site to students and writers in all fields. This is evidenced by the greatly increased volume and variety of publications dealing with Southern Regional culture. The two recent books by Dr. Dollard and Dr. Raper are among the most imposing of the recent sociological treatises on Southern Regional problems.

Dr. Dollard's work is difficult to characterize, especially by one who has not been initiated into the mysteries of psychoanalysis. The book seems to be an attempt to describe, in psychoanalytical terms, the caste and class patterns of a selected southern town. Originally Dr. Dollard planned "to study the personality of Negroes in the South, to get a few life histories, and to learn something about the manner in which the Negro person grows up." After a few days in the community he discovered that the "lives of white and Negro people are so dynamically joined and fixed in one system that neither can be understood without the other." Accordingly, the project was greatly modified.

In all, the book contains 18 chapters, two appendices, and an index. No charts, tables, or graphs are included. The first three chapters describe the research site and method and discuss the matter of bias. One chapter treats attitudes toward the North, and another caste and class. Then follow discussions of the economic, sexual, and prestige gains of the white middle class. Treatments of the caste patterning of education, politics, and religion are next. The accommodations of Negroes make up another unit. Three chapters deal with aggression, one with aggression within the Negro group, one with aggression of Negroes against whites, and one with aggression of whites against Negroes. The final chapters pertain to defensive beliefs of the white caste, gains of the lower-class Negroes, and caste symbolism and race prejudice. Leonard W. Doob contributes an appendix, "Poor Whites: A Frustrated Class." The second appendix is entitled "Life History of the Middle-Class Negroes." It is

obvious that a general treatment of race relations was attempted. The text also reveals that the area frequently was generalized to include the entire South, and, to some extent, the Nation.

"Many times during the conduct of the research," says Dr. Dollard, "I have had a bad conscience on the score of method" (p. 17). One who attempts to discover the methods used in the study will not be surprised at this confession. Thus the "basic method used in the study was that of participation in the social life of Southern town. . . . there was first the casual participation possible as a 'Yankee down here studying Negroes,' and second the more intensive participation and more specific role of the life-history taker" (p. 19). Life histories were taken of only nine Negroes, three women and six men (p. 23), but this did not prevent the author from embarking upon a detailed treatment of all aspects of Negro and white interaction, from economic relationships to the sexual attractiveness of Negro men to white women. Is psychoanalysis a technique which sets a premium upon unrestrained flights of the imagination?

It is the usual experience of those engaged in social research to find that the problems to be solved become more numerous and complex as the project moves along. Apparently, Dr. Dollard was not confronted with this difficulty. In his book there appear few indications of perplexity or uncertainty; he has a ready answer for every situation; and he easily disposes of all questions of fact and theory. A single observation frequently calls forth a torrent of highly speculative premises, hypotheses, and conclusions, together with not a few corollaries, explanations, and applications. If representative of the discipline as a whole, Dollard's work would definitely prove Poincaré's thesis that sociology is the science which has the fewest facts and the most theories.

Dr. Raper writes as the research and field secretary of the commission on interracial co-operation. Seven years of intensive study of two rural counties (Green and Macon) in the Black Belt of Georgia preceded the present monograph. In 1931 a preliminary report was submitted as a Ph.D. thesis at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Raper utilized the slow, laborious, and painstaking method of visiting the individual families and securing information on carefully prepared schedules. He lived in the counties for months at a time and became "personally acquainted with a large number of people representing all elements in the population" (p. vii). In addition much material was secured from tax digests, court records, relief rolls, and other county reports.

Following a "Preface" by the author and a "Foreword" by Will W. Alexander, the book is divided into six parts and 21 chapters. Chapter I sets the stage by giving a brief characterization of the planters and tenants in the Black Belt and raising pertinent questions. Chapter II describes the two counties under consideration. Part II deals with "Planes of Living." These chapters give the detailed data obtained from the family schedules concerning incomes and expenditures, housing and households, and livestock, farm implements, and vehicles. Part III, "Man-Land Relations," is in many ways the most fundamental part of the book. After a chapter on white land ownership, comes one entitled "The Negro Becomes a Landowner." This chapter is the most thorough and illuminating analysis, known to the reviewer, of the social obstacles to Negro ownership of land. The Negro cropper who would become self-directive, either as a share tenant or owner, is forced out of the fertile areas where well-managed plantations are the rule. "Negro ownership emerges in areas where land is rented, rather than where it is worked by croppers and wage hands. Renters do not cultivate the proud acres of the plantations. They are common only where the tracts of land are too small, too unproductive, or too distant to warrant supervision. . . . On the out-of-the-way, or neglected tracts, in the nooks

and corners between creeks and between white communities, and in areas where white community organization is disintegrating—these are the places where renters are most prevalent . . . ” (p. 129).

This chapter also sets the stage for the thesis of the book which is presented in the concluding chapter. Dr. Raper contends that as the plantation system disintegrates, it bankrupts the owners, forces many of the laborers to migrate, and impoverishes those who are left behind. “The independent renters and small owners which emerge in these impoverished and decadent areas constitute a new type of American farmer, almost as poor as the share croppers, but, within their limited sphere, almost as independent as the plantation owners. Here are the beginnings of peasantry in America. Indeed, the collapse of the Black Belt plantation is a preface to peasantry” (p. 406).

Part III also contains excellent chapters dealing with farm tenants and wage hands, and landlord-tenant relations.

Part IV pertains to population movements, and especially the exodus of Negroes from the Black Belt. The New Deal’s agricultural, industrial, and relief programs are treated in the three chapters of Part V. Part VI concerns institutions and presents a mass of factual material on bi-racial institutions, schools, churches, lodges, and recreational agencies. The concluding chapter, “For the Future,” is a terse summary of the processes of plantation decay which, Dr. Raper contends, preface the emergence of the peasant class of small owner operators.

Some will disapprove of Dr. Raper’s occasional sallies into the field of evaluation. Nevertheless, his study ranks among the most fundamental contributions to the sociology of the rural South.

T. LYNN SMITH

Louisiana State University

Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency. By T. EARL SULLENGER. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1936. Pp. vii+412. \$3.50.

Organizing to Reduce Delinquency. By LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR. Ann Arbor: The Michigan Juvenile Delinquency Information Service. 1936. Pp. 60. 25¢.

When considered together these two volumes, while prepared independently, constitute a logical unit of approach to the diagnosis and treatment of juvenile delinquency. Professor Sullenger’s book is a full-blown text book; while Professor Carr’s monograph is a much smaller document outlining a concrete plan of action.

While denying any attempt “to cover the field completely,” Dr. Sullenger, nevertheless, anticipates the use of his book as a text in classes in juvenile delinquency, criminology and child welfare. The treatment is exclusively social and consistently—although unfortunately—omits the biological and psychological determinants of delinquency. He admits, however, that the causes of delinquency are multiple; that they arise out of the “total situation” of which the child is a part. The child, he says, is not responsible for this situation; he is merely the victim. This position unnecessarily relieves the child of all responsibility for his delinquent acts.

Professor Sullenger narrows his thesis still further by contending that “juvenile delinquency is due almost invariably to some phase or phases of adult insufficiency, growing out of human relations in the primary groups—the family, the play group, the neighborhood and the community. . . .” The organization of the book is, at least, consistent with this thesis. A substantial part of it, however, is devoted to remedial and preventive forces which seem to have little or no direct connection with the social determinants.

This criticism does not deny, however, the merits of Dr. Sullenger's text; its material is well organized, it is fully documented and it is replete with exhaustive bibliographies. It also contains much original material.

Professor Carr, on the other hand, is concerned with a plan for "better citizenship" in Michigan. He, therefore, takes for granted that enough is known about the causes of delinquency to warrant a plan of action. His plan is based on the assumption that juvenile delinquency is "the widest and most vulnerable gateway to crime." To-morrow's delinquents, he says, may be found today among four groups of children: (1) former inmates of juvenile correctional institutions; (2) probationers held for treatment in their local communities by the various Juvenile Courts; (3) problem children who may or may not have been detected in actual law-violations, but who have not been apprehended by the police or brought before the Juvenile Court; (4) children living in various types of high-risk situations.

In this admirable little document, intended as a guide for community "decision-makers," Professor Carr defines the main tasks of leadership as: (1) making community leaders see the problem and realize the shortcomings, (2) organizing for co-operation, legislation and administration. Professor Carr's study has the great merit of brevity, preciseness and summary statement. It should prove an admirable manual or study-guide for parent-teacher associations, co-ordinating councils, etc.

The careful reading of these two volumes dealing with the sociological and organizational aspects of delinquency and its control—praiseworthy as they are—nevertheless, leaves one somewhat unconvinced. We shall need to do a good deal more fundamental research into the nature of personality, on the one hand, and the characteristics of the modern city, on the other, before the problem of delinquency can be fully understood and effectively controlled.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

University of Utah

Predicting Criminality. By FERRIS F. LAUNE. Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, number 1. Evanston: Northwestern University, 1936. Pp. 163. \$2.50.

Public dissatisfaction with the parole system arises out of (a) its all-too-often corrupt administration and (b) the prevailing rule-of-thumb methods of selecting parolees. The first of these problems is essentially a challenge to statecraft; the second is a problem for scientific criminology. Dr. Laune's monograph is a significant addition to that fruitful body of research recently pioneered by Warner, Burgess, Tibbitts, Glueck, *et al.*, in which an attempt is made to forecast behavior of parole.

The author, while employed as a sociologist and actuary at the Joliet penitentiary, Illinois, started out to invent an instrument for measuring "parolability" by assuming that "social adjustment subsequent to incarceration for crime is dependent largely upon attitudes." His final result, a self-administering attitude test of 161 questions, was derived by taking first, the "hunches" of intelligent inmates about their less-intelligent fellows, and then analyzing the estimates statistically. These "hunch" factors, 42 in all, were next elaborated into a 1,701-question questionnaire which was then administered to a group of inmates. The 161 "best" questions were then sifted out by methods of tetrachoric correlation.

Two major criticisms may be levelled at this painstaking and otherwise brilliant piece of work. In the first place, in validating the "hunches" of intelligent inmates it would have been better to correlate them with the actual outcomes on parole, and also the "hunches" of prison officials, rather than merely to intercorrelate the independent judgments of inmates regarding one another. Secondly, to determine

"parolability" upon the basis of the inmate's present attitude is to assume what is by no means wholly true, viz., (a) that reformation is the primary purpose of imprisonment, (b) that there is a one-to-one correspondence between a convict's attitude while in prison and his behavior after he leaves it, and (c) that the pencil-paper method of measuring attitudes is valid for diagnostic purposes.

Notwithstanding the promise which such quantitative instruments hold out, the probabilities are that the decision "to parole or not to parole" must always remain a qualitative one, in the final analysis.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

University of Utah

Time of Ovulation in Women. By CARL G. HARTMAN. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1936. Pp. x+226. \$3.00.

Dr. Hartman has written an extraordinarily clear and instructive popular exposition of current knowledge and research on the reproductive cycle. He treats, frequently by excellent graphs, the germ cells and their history, and, at greater length, evidences of the time of ovulation and its relation to possibilities of fertilization. While utilizing his own meticulous researches on monkeys, he also draws the warranted conclusions from data relating to the human female. In his monkeys, ovulation always occurs between the eighth and the twenty-first day of the menstrual cycle; this seems to be true also of women; but there is still much uncertainty. This work serves as a check upon the dogmatic assurances of certain popularized treatises in this field. By increasing general appreciation of the difficulties involved, it may very well serve to facilitate the collection of reliable data on this inherently interesting and intriguing problem.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

Social Insight in Case Situations. By ADA ELIOT SHEFFIELD. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. xii+284. \$2.25.

The central thesis of this volume is that the focal point of social case-work thinking should be the "need-situation" and not the individual-in-need. The traditional emphasis upon personality development, as popularized by Miss Richmond and more recently by psychiatry, has too greatly narrowed the search for causative factors and does not give full weight to the role of situational factors. Treatment has suffered correspondingly through failure to utilize the social forces which are available for adjustment purposes. In short, though Mrs. Sheffield makes little use of sociological concepts, she is strongly inclined toward the development of a case logic based on an analysis of social factors. (She explains the failure of sociology to make a larger contribution to social work than it has as due to the "far-flung," all-inclusive nature of its concepts and its failure to come to close grips with the phenomena of social unadjustment.)

The author pleads vigorously for the development of "type-situations" in use in case diagnosis, since only through effective classification can a truly professional and scientific approach be made. She illustrates her argument at each point by a series of case histories with brief accompanying analyses.

The volume is clear evidence that case work is coming of age as a profession. Though its references to the basic sciences and allied fields are brief and frequently casual, the breadth of the territory which the author has laid under tribute is at

times startling and indicates to the reader clearly the need for wide reading not only in psychology, sociology, and biology, but in literature, philosophy and the humanities generally. Moreover, the acceptance of a multiple factor theory of causation will help social workers to break away from the all too prevalent particularistic, occasionally cultistic, modes of thought now widely prevalent. While not apparent in the earlier cases under discussion, the wider social implications of the need-situations later presented are well canvassed and the wider fields of social action are clearly indicated. That is, case work is regarded as an integral part of social-work technique as a whole, with definite responsibilities in the solution of the conditions out of which need-situations arise.

The problem of making social-work points-of-view more articulate is given but little consideration here. In fact, only the initiated can hope to penetrate much of the abstruse writing in which the author indulges. Hyphenated words and expressions, involved thought processes and unclear writing will prevent many readers from following the argument through. This is very much to be regretted since the volume is a much needed corrective to present unbalanced enthusiasms, and should prove a stimulant to needed discussion by other workers.

ERLE F. YOUNG

The University of Southern California

Das Milieu und die Psychologie des Schifferkindes in seiner Eigenart. By ANTON DORY, Munich: Joseph Kösel and Friedrich Pustet, 1935. Pp. 136. RM 3.00.

More interesting on the Rhine than the crumbling gray castles are the unique, colorful boats that push slowly up against the current or shoot rapidly downstream. In his study of the peculiar environment and psychology of the sailor child Dr. Anton Dory is writing about the offspring of the skippers on these river boats. Dr. Dory, himself "a son of a Rhine city," is pastor and general chairman of the Rhinish St. Nicholas Alliance of Skippers.

Unlike most ship captains these river boatmen take their families with them on their journeys. In fact two-thirds of their children are actually born aboard ship. Because freedom of movement is very limited on the small vessel members of the family are more dependent on each other than are families on land. The bond between them is closer. Continually under the mother's care the child frequently is pampered. The work of the skipper father is both hard and dangerous. At the end of the day, however, with the boat safely anchored the navigator is happy with his wife and children.

The skipper's child commonly spends his first seven years in the narrow confines of the ship. He early becomes familiar with rivers, canals, cities, boats and water. About traveling over land he knows nothing. He recognizes horses, cows, dogs, cats, and rabbits, but has rarely seen a living pig. He is usually a good card player and an expert swimmer. Self-conceit is a dominant psychological trait. In spite of the fact that his grandfather and father may have found watery graves the ideal of the boy is to follow their calling. The ideal of the girl is to be a skipper's wife like her mother.

This conceited and precocious water nomad must go to school on land. Whether he goes to boarding school or lives with relatives he always feels he is a stranger. His schoolmates call him a "water rat" and he is not able to throw off this ridicule. Very few teachers have the necessary understanding and interest to help him. Severe homesickness is a common result.

Dr. Dory concludes that the best solution for the education of these nomadic children is a tuition-free school serving all the *Schifferkinder* of the German Reich. He would conduct this school for shorter periods than are customary, provide specially written books related to the sailor child's distinctive milieu and choose teachers with an interest in this problem.

This short concrete study shows that German social scientists are not entirely concerned with the pursuit of abstractions. It should have practical value for anyone dealing with the educational problems of migratory children.

NORMAN S. HAYNER

University of Washington

Patterns of Culture. By RUTH BENEDICT. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934. Pp. 291. \$2.50.

Though this review might seem dated, the book reviewed is not. In fact, Dr. Benedict's study can be more adequately evaluated at this time than it could have been three years ago. The title—*Patterns of Culture*—can easily be misunderstood. What we have here is not a study of patterns in culture, an old almost stale subject, but of the patterns or configurations of cultures as wholes. The best, almost only, material for such a study, as the author notes, is furnished by primitive society. "It is the only laboratory of social forms that we have or shall have" (p. 17). Of the wide field available Dr. Benedict has selected three cultures, two American ones—the Zuñi and Kwakiutl—and one Melanesian—the Dobu. Borrowing her terms from Spengler's famous work, Dr. Benedict classifies the cultures of the Kwakiutl and Dobuans as Dionysian or Faustian, while Zuñi culture is Appolonian. Dionysian cultures stress strife, suffering, emotional exaltation, individualism, exaggeration in action; Appolonian cultures are, by comparison, formal, ceremonial, addicted to moderation, highly socialized, inimical to violence and all show of sentiment.

Thus, the "ceremonial life that preoccupies Zuñi attention is organized like a series of interlocking wheels" (p. 65); the priesthoods, the tribal masked-gods society, the medicine societies, each with its dances, songs, ritual paraphernalia. When at the initiation of children into the masked-gods society, the "scare Kachinas" make their appearance and whip the initiates with yucca whips, the underlying idea is not punishment, nor is there any real violence nor expectation of heroism, as in parallel situations among the Plains Indians. No, the procedure is strictly within the amenities, the boys are supposed to be frightened, and when this act is over the boys are given the yucca whips and, in their turn, whip the Kachinas (p. 69). In the relations of the sexes there is similar moderation and absence of exhibitionism. Divorce, for example, is humorously simple. "When the woman is satisfied that she will not be left husbandless (husbands are easy to get), she gathers together her husband's possessions and places them on the door sill. When he comes home in the evening, he sees the little bundle, picks it up and cries, and returns with it to his mother's house" (p. 74). He and his family are not happy for a time, but this is all there is to it. The same applies to such cultural features as the vision-dream, contests, burial. Just in the situations where among most Indian tribes Dionysian proclivities run wild, the Zuñi exhibit an Appollonian moderation and reserve. If anything here goes to extremes it is moderation itself. Thus in foot-races, if a man wins habitually, he is debarred from further participation. Any attempt to exercise control, any striving for prestige or power, are frowned upon. Anyone, in fact, who exhibits such traits, or is suspected of harboring them, is in danger of being accused of sorcery (p. 99). Suicide is not only unknown among the Zuñi but

it seems to them incomprehensible, like war to the Eskimo. "The more particularly you illustrate the practice of suicide to a Zuñi audience, the more politely and smilingly incredulous they become. It is very strange, the things that white people will do. But this is most laughable of all" (p. 118).

If space permitted the contrasting Dionysian excesses of the Kwakiutl and Dobuans could be similarly illustrated. For on the West coast, as we know, not only is social prestige the very essence of life's endeavor, but one man's success here always means another man's failure, contest is the order of the day, wealth and life itself are sacrificed in hysterical attempts to outdo a rival. In Dobu, again, the community is poisoned by the fear of magic or sorcery; a husband is in constant fear of his life at the hands of his wife, and she of hers at his. Here, moreover, as among the Kwakiutl, the central pattern—contest, prestige, shame, among the Kwakiutl, sorcery, suspicion, retaliation, among the Dobuans—expands readily from cultural features primarily involved to others which, to an outsider, seem very remote and out of the picture, as when Kwakiutl marriage is found to function after the pattern of a potlatch, or when the Dobuan, finding his neighbor's harvest superior to his own, at once suspects that it was "magically thieved from his own or someone else's garden" (p. 147).

As all social scientists are aware, the configurational or *Gestalt* approach, applied to cultures by Dr. Benedict, has been skirting the social field for some time. There is great promise in this point of view, I think, but also there is danger: in view of the inapplicability to such studies of enumerative or measuring techniques the door is opened for subjectivism; again one is easily tempted to abide by hasty or dogmatic classifications; and finally, a "pattern" thus identified with a culture might easily be found to have been read into it rather than in it: what is taken for a central theme in a native culture might prove to be but a conceptual device of the investigator. Dr. Benedict is not unaware of these dangers and warns against them (pp. 223-235). In particular, the author is careful to discourage any too sweeping application of such cultural patterns as a classificatory principle. "Nor are these configurations we have discussed," she writes: "types" in the sense that they represent a fixed constellation of traits. Each one is an empirical characterization, and probably is not duplicated in its entirety anywhere else in the world. Nothing could be more unfortunate than an effort to characterize all cultures as exponents of a limited number of fixed and selected types. Categories become a liability when they are taken as inevitable and applicable alike to all civilizations and all events" (p. 238).

In Chapter VIII of her book ("The Individual and the Pattern of Culture") the author opens up a different topic barely anticipated in the rest of the book. Yet it is precisely this section of her work that is symptomatic of a significant trend in modern thought which reveals a set of novel problems by combining psychological and social disciplines in a common focus—the individual. Dr. Benedict boldly approaches the personality of the abnormal in relation not to biological equipment but to the cultural situation. The "abnormals," she says: "are those who are not supported by the institutions of their civilization" (p. 258). Thus the successful Kwakiutl chieftain who rises to the highest social status in his culture by means of a frantic and wasteful display of potlatching valor, would pass among ourselves for a hopeless paranoiac. Are then these great men of the Kwakiutl paranoiacs all, or are our own paranoiacs declared such merely because their particular form of "insanity" is outlawed by our social calendar? It will be seen, I think, that a third possibility is not excluded here: perhaps what we call paranoia does indeed represent a type of psychic disorientation, perhaps biologically conditioned, which, in cul-

tural conditions (like our own) inimical to its forms of behavior is relegated to psychopathology, but which in a congenial social milieu (like that of the Kwakiutl) is permitted to thrive unmolested and is even exalted as a form of social achievement. Should this possibility prove the right solution to the problem, then cultural relativity stressed by our author would still receive its due without radical deflection in the concerns of the psychiatrist. I suspect that such is likely to be the case. Perhaps a pardonable enthusiasm for an important theoretical discovery has misled Dr. Benedict into sponsoring a more extreme position than the facts seem to warrant.

ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER

Reed College

Conflict and Community: A Study in Social Theory. By GEORGE SIMPSON.
New York: T. S. Simpson, 1937. Pp. 107. \$1.00.

In this work the author seeks "to demonstrate that the pathological state of the individual to-day, about which there has been so much to-do, is a result of non-communal conflict, and that the conflicts in the contemporary world do not succeed in adjusting the individual because they are not aimed to bring forth community" (p. 24).

Following the distinction between community and association made by Durkheim, Max Weber, Tönnies, MacIver, and others, the author points out that the distinction between associational (willed) and communal (mechanico-instinctive) relations must be more adequately stated in terms of the different kinds of behavior which individuals manifest in their interaction with each other. Many of the past, and even present, debates over *social factuality* are resolved when it is recognized that the contending exponents have been emphasizing one of the above types of social relationship to the exclusion of the other.

A further distinction which the author considers basic to this study (p. 17) is between communal and non-communal conflict. He defines the former as "conflict over the means to attain an end"; the latter as "conflict over the differing common ends held by the parties to the conflict." In the former type there is agreement over ends; in the latter, which the author considers the most tragic in society, there is no agreement, and even though a cessation of conflict may be achieved temporarily, ultimate chaos follows. Communal conflicts are socially integrative; non-communal conflicts are otherwise until transformed into the former. "When men settle their differences on the basis of unity, communal conflict will ensue; when they settle their unity upon these differences non-communal conflict will ensue" (pp. 41-42).

In warfare, past and present, there is a clash of communities—the most extreme type of non-communal conflict. Men, however, no longer permit familial, city-against-city, or civil warfare because there is an agreement over ends, though certain communal conflicts (differences over means) of a socially integrative nature may still ensue.

The basic problem underlying socially destructive types of contemporary conflict is to restore, or achieve anew, a sense of community among the many diversified associational groupings which have emerged in the course of social evolution. Thus, with respect to economic conflicts the author states (p. 62) "the contemporary communal problem is to achieve a personal, human economy with the virtues of industrialism. That we must retain industry is obvious; that men need community is true, but not so obvious; that under contemporary economy they are not achieving community is verifiable. The achievement of communality in economic conflicts

will be as great as the functional and human basis for the economy planned is broad." And regarding class conflict he continues (p. 68), "to make class conflicts communal, men must be covetous not of the greater wealth attaching to membership in some class, but of the prestige-value in terms of service and power which membership in this class bestows." Though "classes will always be present; the task . . . is to make them communal classes."

HENRY G. STETLER

Colgate University

Les Jeux Éducatifs de Decroly dans L'Enseignement des Enfants Anormaux.

By GUNNAR STADIUS. Helsingfors: Soc. Scient. Fenn., Comm. Hum. Litt. VIII. 1., 1935. Pp. 245.

This book is an elaboration of the values and procedures of Decroly's methods in the instruction of high-grade mentally deficient children. Approximately half of the book is devoted to such relevant topics as mental deficiency, criteria of educability, contemporary theories of education, and the historical antecedents of the Decroly methods. The second part of the book deals specifically with the detailed methods of Decroly. The essence of the Decroly pedagogy may be summarized briefly as follows: (1) Anticipation of needs and desires of the child; (2) capitalization of such sources of motivation by (a) gaining interest, and (b) activity and self-expression.

Guided by the belief that the treatment of mentally deficient children should be more along pedagogical lines and less along the line of medical diagnosis and classification, the author who is licencié ès lettres at the University of Helsingfors, leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that he is an enthusiastic sponsor of the Decroly pedagogy; throughout zeal is subordinated to logic. The book is a well annotated, scholarly presentation which reflects the author's three-year, careful study of his subject matter. Because of the fact that it is written in the French language it will probably not be readily accessible to those individuals in America who would be expected to profit most from its contents. It should, however, be called to the attention of special class teachers, teachers of elementary grades, and also to forward-moving school administrators. Successful principles of educational treatment of defectives are for the most part of limited interest, but the generalities of the Decroly methods should find a more positive transfer into other educational territories, especially the primary grades, since the Decroly methods, based on modern principles of educational theory, have already undergone successful trial periods.

ANTHONY J. MITRANO

*The Training School
Vineland, N.J.*

Supervision in Social Case Work, A Problem in Professional Education. By

VIRGINIA P. ROBINSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 199. \$2.50.

The concept of relationship seen in the author's *A Changing Psychology of Social Case Work* (1930) as the key to social case work is here applied to the problems of supervision, particularly in the training of case workers. Supervision, in the special sense used in social work, is considered as essentially teaching, differing from the classroom type in involving only two persons, in placing more responsibility on the learner, and in the predominance of the helping function over information-giving.

The author discusses first the "dynamics of the self in learning," following the Rankian psychology emphasizing the "part-whole concept." Learning is a process of living, involving "a movement in search of wholes which break themselves up into parts each of which has power to seek insistently a new whole which again splits up into dynamic parts unendingly" (p. 100). Problems of supervision, illustrated from the author's experience as teacher of case work and supervision at the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, are then discussed in terms of three stages of learning: (1) the first, involving the reactions of the individual to the learning situation; (2) the second, in which the student makes part of himself the realization of the primary place of his own share in learning as compared with the teacher's; and (3) carrying this realization on to include an understanding of the limits of time, discussion material, the function of the teacher as helper in professional rather than personal problems, and respective abilities of teacher and learner. The limits of case work itself are also involved (cf. the quotation from the *Charity Organization Quarterly*, England, in the March issue of *Social Work Today*: "We keep saying to ourselves, 'Could the Spaniards ever have got into this trouble if they had had the case work approach?'").

The chief contribution is the treatment of supervision as a teaching-learning process. Of primary interest to teachers of social workers, the book also should interest sociologists concerned with personality, the development of social work, or the process of classroom teaching. The book lacks an index.

DAVID K. BRUNNER

University of Pittsburgh
Division of Social Work

Controlling Human Behavior. By DANIEL STARCH, HAZEL M. STANTON, WILHELMINE KOERTH, and assisted by ROGER A. BARTON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xiv+638. \$2.90.

Sociologists are not the only ones who are perplexed with problems of the introductory text-book. Other disciplines have their troubles in this regard. The above text is an attempted departure from the traditional stereotyped first book for college students in psychology. It "aims to bring together psychology and living." Part I. *Controlling the Behavior of Self* attempts to apply psychology to self analysis and control; while Part II. *Controlling the Behavior of Others* seeks to show how psychology may be utilized in one's social relations. In spite of the fact that the book is the product of four different writers, it is fairly well unified and consistent in point of view. It is thought provoking and stimulating and has in it much of value; it is well written, adequately edited and comprehensive to the point of being encyclopedic.

The treatment of *I-Wants and Determinants of Human Behavior* leads one to wonder whether the authors ever heard of Albion W. Small or W. I. Thomas. Food, comfort, mating, power, and approbation are listed as the five inner urges out of which all human wants spring and under which all things we desire may be classified. It is pathetic that learned men cannot recognize the metaphysical and purely mystical nature of such efforts to explain human behavior. The second of Comte's three stages of human thought is recommended for their serious consideration.

The authors do practice a bit of "psychology"—or would it be better to say, diplomacy?—in sitting astride the fence on the "instinct" controversy. They say just enough on both sides to leave the entire question in confusion and to enable

the instructor who uses the text to take either position he desires. The entire book would have been helped by a knowledge of the sociological concept "Social Control."

The authors admit that subjects which are often reserved for advanced courses are introduced on the ground that approximately three-fourths of the students never go beyond a first course and in the hope that such contacts may enlist them in further study. This appears to the reviewer to be a fundamental pedagogical error and a most outstanding problem in introductory texts of both psychology and sociology. This text would be more suitable as a "final" rather than a "first" book for college students. Few students can wade through the mass of materials herein presented and come out with other than an aversion for the subject.

W. P. MERONEY

Baylor University

Research in Dementia Praecox (Past Attainments, Present Trends and Future Possibilities). By NOLAN D. C. LEWIS. New York: The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1936. Pp. xi+320. \$1.50.

Through funds made available by the Supreme Council, 33d Scottish Rite Masons of the Northern Jurisdiction, U. S. A., The National Committee for Mental Hygiene selected Dr. Lewis to prepare this monograph which is a complete survey of all the scientific work which has been done throughout the world in the study of dementia praecox. In addition to this interest shown by laymen, in what may in the future be recognized as a public health problem, the further significance of this survey rests on the fact that, for the first time it brings together all sources of knowledge and information on the dementia praecox problem as the first step for initiating a future research program. This book is well organized along the general scientific disciplines, for the most part in the field of medicine, which have contributed to an understanding of the problem or problems found in dementia praecox.

The first chapter deals with certain research trends in the field of mental disorder, and in it Dr. Lewis gives a statistical tabulation of 1,778 papers, monographs and books which have been published on some phase of the problem during the period from 1920 through 1934. In this tabulation it is of some significance to note that in every year the type of investigation which accounted for the bulk of the publications was clinical psychiatry. In fact, this approach accounted for forty-two percent of the total publications.

The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters organize all of the scientific work into the following categories: clinical features, etiological aspects, alteration in structure and structure function, differential diagnosis, and therapeutic modifications and experimental therapy. These headings contain all of the significant research classified according to (II) history, types and symptoms, psychology, psychoanalysis, and infants and young children; (III) anthropology, epidemiology, general etiology, and heredity; (IV) constitution, extraneural pathology, endocrinology, neuropathology, urine chemistry, blood chemistry, pharmacology, miscellaneous biochemistry; (V) diagnosis; and (VI) therapy. Each of these sections has its own bibliography containing all of the literature on the subject since 1920 arranged according to year of publication. In addition, each section contains a summary as to the present state of knowledge in this field with many valuable suggestions for further research. The book also contains at the end a bibliography of earlier references to the literature.

The lack of definite and exact results to date in relation to the etiology of this disorder by the approaches characteristic of the medical sciences has resulted in a

few studies by other scientific disciplines. Dr. Lewis has noted these interests in this survey. Few social scientists have been interested in this problem as can be seen by the list of five references under anthropology and the seven references under epidemiology. However, Dr. Lewis has emphasized the desirability of further epidemiological studies (p. 100), and has indicated the close relationship which exists between social psychology and psychiatry (p. 51). In his suggestions for research Dr. Lewis outlines several projects which should interest sociologists as well as projects where sociologists might work in a co-operative fashion with other scientific disciplines (pp. 61, 63, 285, 306).

This book is a valuable and necessary one, and it should be consulted for the work already done by any scientific worker who intends to attack any phase of the dementia praecox problem. Already fourteen separate pieces of research have been initiated and supported from funds supplied by the Scottish Rite Masons as a result of this survey.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Chicago

Yearbook, 1936. Ed. by MARJORIE BELL. New York: National Probation Assn., 1936. Pp. 432. \$1.25.

One should recognize the problems of an organization like the National Probation Association and sympathise. Much of its membership comes from communities very backward in social enlightenment. There is probably a heavy turn-over which has to be educated and reeducated year after year. Part of this process consists in inviting local lights to enlighten themselves by giving addresses which usually cover much the same old ground. If, however, one compares the swath cut by the proceedings of fifteen years ago with that of the present *Yearbook*, it must be admitted that the N.P.A. mower has gradually moved to the growing parts of the field.

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few studies by other scientific disciplines. Dr. Lewis has noted these interests in this survey. Few social scientists have been interested in this problem as can be seen by the list of five references under anthropology and the seven references under epidemiology. However, Dr. Lewis has emphasized the desirability of further epidemiological studies (p. 100), and has indicated the close relationship which exists between social psychology and psychiatry (p. 51). In his suggestions for research Dr. Lewis outlines several projects which should interest sociologists as well as projects where sociologists might work in a co-operative fashion with other scientific disciplines (pp. 61, 63, 285, 306).

This book is a valuable and necessary one, and it should be consulted for the work already done by any scientific worker who intends to attack any phase of the dementia praecox problem. Already fourteen separate pieces of research have been initiated and supported from funds supplied by the Scottish Rite Masons as a result of this survey.

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